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THE ESTATES OF THE HERBERT FAMILY

IN THE MID FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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Ph.D.

1973

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Abstract:

This study of the estates and finances of William Herbert is prefaced by an introductory chapter on the Herbert family, which attempts to place the baron's career in its familial context and emphasize the extent to which William's achievement was also that of his family. Chapter 1 also seeks to outline the circumstances of Herbert's rise to prominence as a Mortimer administrator and lieutenant of Edward IV, as well as the falling fortunes of his family after his death in 1469. The Herbert family's advancement - at first steady and then, under Edward IV, spectacular - was, to a great extent, effected by and mirrored in its accumulation of lands; the decline from the 1470's on was conversely accompanied by the loss of estates. This pattern is examined with the help of some of the family's private deeds in the appendix to Chapter 1.

The remainder of the thesis is concerned with a detailed study of the estates. The General Introduction to Part II examines the nature and quantity of the extant records of the fifteenth-century Herbert estates, and reviews their limitations and possibilities in the light of the questions normally asked of such materials and the methodological difficulties involved in their use.

The first two chapters of the estates section of the thesis are devoted to a detailed description of the nature of the properties held by William Herbert, his widow, and his son, the second Earl, from the point of view of the sources of income and the expenditure of the issues at local level. These chapters reveal the essential diversities

of the Herbert estates, although the evidence also suggests that, from the seigneurial viewpoint, the properties were becoming more alike as rents and liveries of cash became more and more important in their charges and discharges.

The chapter on the sources of income includes an attempt to discover which sources were decaying and which vital or growing in importance. Discussion of the latter inevitably leads on to the problem of the administration's efficiency, for it was the administration which realized the opportunities for gain latent in the estate - or failed in its duty to do so. The efficiency with which the Herbert estates were run is the subject of the fourth chapter. Much of the chapter is taken up with a study of arrears. Far from being necessary indices of inefficiency or economic difficulties (or both), the Herbert estate records reveal arrears as the normal concomitant of a system of accounting which did not - and was evidently not expected to - square with the realities of collection and expenditure, and as the product of medieval administrations' respect for precedent and unwillingness to admit defeat in the collection of old debts. Arrears, in short, might be sinister but they were not inevitably so. Moreover, as they are detailed on the accounts of a careful administration, arrears can be positively helpful in the business of assessing the efficiency of an administration by providing evidence as to the amount of the charge collected in past years for which accounts have disappeared. The Herbert arrears evidence reveals highly successful administration in the 1460's and the possibility of a slight decline in efficiency in the 1470's. The incidental references on the accounts suggestive of

administrative diligence are also reviewed in this chapter. Their value is generally less than that of the arrears evidence, although they do corroborate the opinion of scholars who have worked on the records of estates administered by Herbert that the baron was a very successful, if somewhat crude, administrator.

The fifth chapter leads on from the one on the efficiency of the Herbert administration to examine the way in which the scattered estates were organized for the purposes of administration, revenue collection and expenditure. Changes in organization are examined, particularly in the case of those estates which came into Herbert hands during the 1460's. The functions of the officers employed in the running of the estates are also described in this chapter, while the companion sixth chapter is concerned with detailing the careers of some of the major officials. In both chapters the essentially conservative nature of the Herberts' approach to the organization and staffing of their properties comes out strongly, and, once again, the baron's debt to his family is very apparent.

The assessment of Herbert's income from land and fees is the main purpose of Chapter 7, the study being based upon the surviving Receiver-General's accounts from the 1460's. These accounts need some correction to take account of issues excepted from the Receiver-General's charge. Fortunately, as the second appendix strongly suggests, the 1460's seem to have been years in which there was relatively little centrally-directed expenditure of local issues and during which high proportions of most local charges were made over to the Receiver-General. The value of the baron's fees also

present a problem, for the Receiver-General did not account for all the fees granted to Herbert and many of these he was accountable for were not in fact received by him. It is however possible in most of the important cases to ascertain the value and likelihood of payment of the 'missing' fees from the accounts of the payees. The assessment of Herbert's income made, it is then related to those of other fifteenth-century peers to give a rough idea of his financial standing within the contemporary peerage. In the case of a family which earned its advancement and the maintenance of its position by service to the Crown, family wealth (as opposed to income) depended very much upon its ability to recoup its official expenses from the Crown. A study of the Herberts' success in this respect is of special importance because it was alleged that the second Earl's debts were involved in the transfer of Herbert estates and the family's official position in Wales to Prince Edward in 1479. This aspect of the family's financial history is examined at the close of Chapter 7.

Only in the case of one of the Herbert properties is it possible to attempt a description of a Marcher lordship's economic development in the later middle ages. This property is the lordship of Raglan, the head of the Herbert estates and the main seat of the family in the fifteenth century: its development is the subject of Chapter 8. Its history, as revealed in accounts and rentals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was not unlike that of other late medieval properties in the Marches, until its acquisition by the flourishing Herbert family caused a re-invigoration and re-formation of the manor's economy.

The concluding chapter re-states the main conclusions of the study laying particular emphasis on the many respects in which the Herbert estates differed from one another behind the growing conformity of their financial accounting; on the administrative needs of the Herbert family which worked to further differentiate a minority of the properties; on the generally limited impact made by the Herberts on the estates they held and administered in the fifteenth century, and on the essentially familiar nature of the baron's political and administrative achievements.

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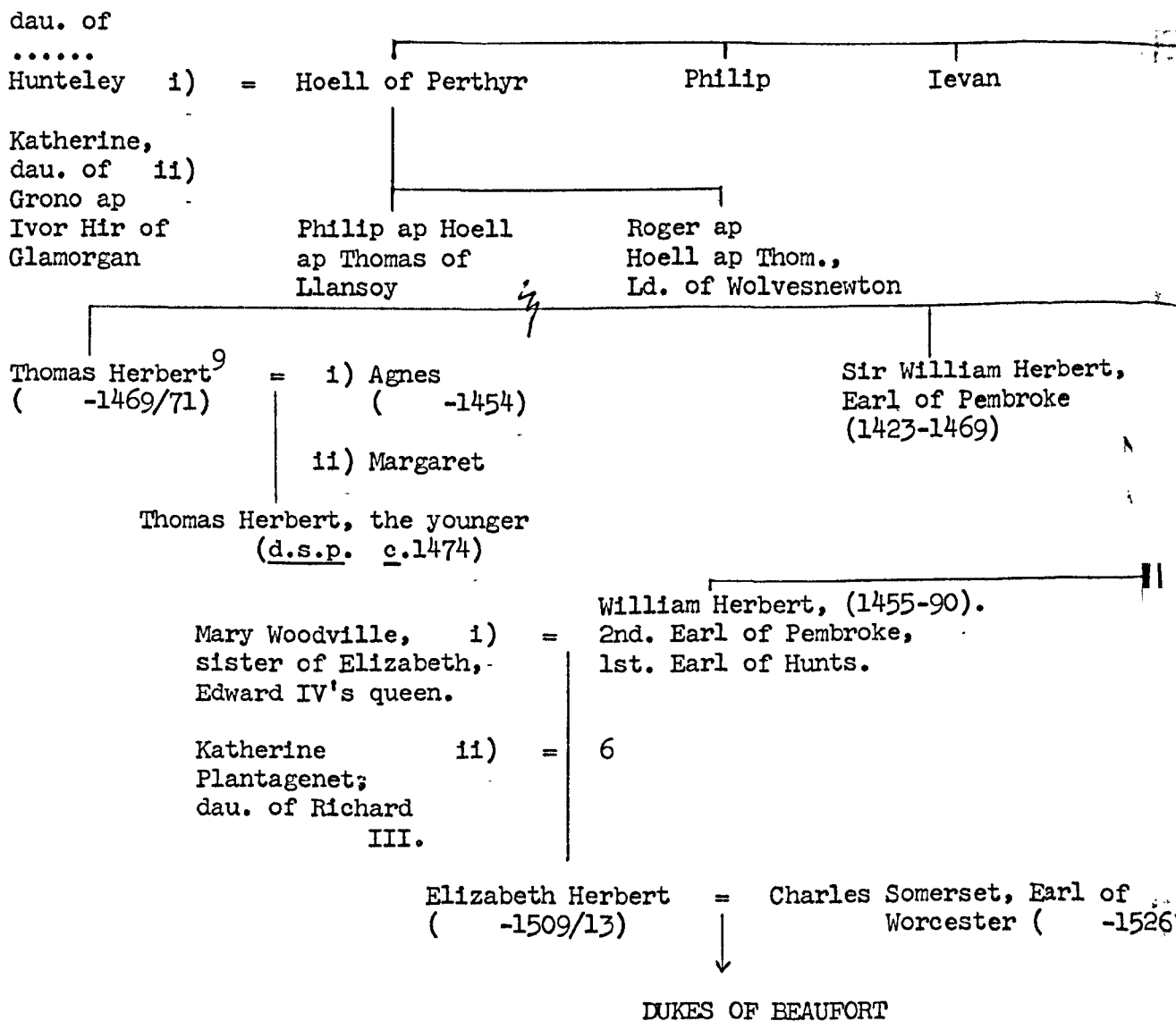
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Abbreviations used

N.L.W.	National Library of Wales
Badminton M.R.	Badminton Manorial Records
B.M.	British Museum
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London
Ministers' Accounts	Public Record Office, Special Collections: Ministers' Accounts
Ancient Indictments	Public Record Office, King's Bench (Crown Side): Ancient Indictments
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
<u>C.Cl.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls</u>
<u>C.F.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Fine Rolls</u>
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>D.W.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</u>
'Herbertorum Prosapia'	Cardiff Central Library, MS. 5:7, 'Herbertorum Prosapia'.

Figure I: The Herbert Family¹

Jenkin ap Adam,
Lord of Wernddu.

= Gwenllian, dau. of
Sir Aaron ap Rees ap Bledri, kt.

William ap Jenkin,
Lord of Gwernddy.

= Gwenllian, dau. of Hoell Vachan
ap Hoell ap Ioruerth.

Thomas ap William Jenkin,
esq., of Perth-hir and
Llansantffraid.

= Mawd, coheir to Sir John Morley,
kt., of Raglan.

Sir William ap Thomas,
ld. of Raglan, kt.
(-1445)

= 1) Elizabeth Bloet, dau. of Sir John
Bloet of Raglan, widow of Sir
James Berkeley².
(-1420)

= 11) Gwladus Ddu, dau. of Sir David Gar
kt., widow of Sir Roger Vaughan
of Bredwardine. (-1454)

Anne Devereux,
sister of Sir Walter Devereux,
Lord Ferrers of Chartley.
(-1509)

Elizabeth = Sir Henry
Stradling,

Sir Walter Herbert
(c.1463-1507)

= Anne Stafford, sister
of Edward, 3rd. Duke of
Buckingham.

dau's.

Margaret = Sir Henry Wogan
of Wiston, kt.

Sir Richard Herbert
of Coldbrook, kt.
(-1469)

= Margaret, dau. of
Thomas ap Griffith
Nicholas, esq.,
sister of Sir Rees
ap Thomas.

Sir George of St. Julian
= Ann, dau. of Sir Richard
Croft of Croft Castle.

Sir Philip Herbert
(d.s.p.)

Maud = Henry Percival
(-1485) Earl of
Northumberland

William Herbert
of Coldbrook

Sir Richard
of Powis

Thomas of
Abergavenny
(c.1462-
1529)

↓
Id. Herbert of
Cherbury

Robert Thomas, clerk.

John ap Guillim of³
Itton, esq.
(-1469)

= dau. of Lewis David Philip
of St. Piers.

Ann = Richard Grey,
Lord Powis.

7 Jane / Isabel = Sir
Thomas Cokesay, kt.

William Herbert of
Crickhowell

John ap John
ap Guillim

Thomas Herbert = Katherine
of Chepstow

John ap Thomas
Vaughan
of Chepstow.

Thomas ap Thomas
Vaughan
of Christchurch parish.

William = Joan⁴

Morgan⁵

Cecily = John, Ld.
(-1499) Greystoke.

Katherine = George Grey,
(-1504) Earl of Kent.

Mary / Margaret = 1) Thomas Talbot,
Viscount Lisle.
11) Sir Henry Bodringham
of Cornwall.

Sir William Herbert
of Troy = Blanche, dau. of
Sir Simon Milborn, kt.,
widow of James Whitney.

Charles

Thomas

John

William,
the younger.

Sir Richard Herbert
of Ewyas

Anne Parr, sister
of Katherine.

=

William Herbert of Cardiff,
Earl of Pembroke (2nd. creation)

EARLS OF PEMBROKE

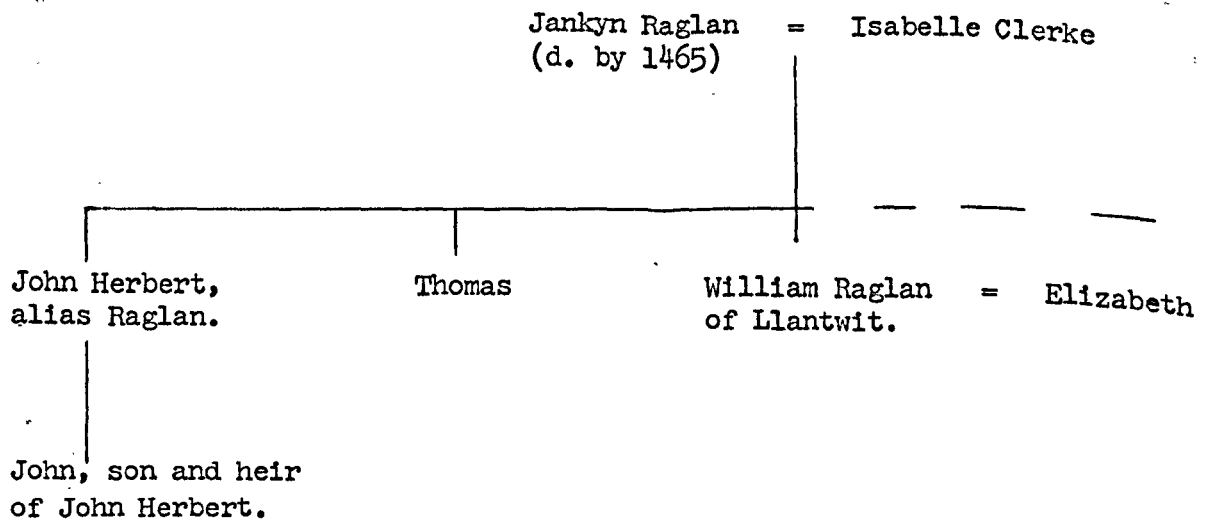


EARLS OF POWIS

= Margaret, sole heiress of
Sir Matthew Cradock of Swansea, kt.,
widow of John Malefant.

Sir George Herbert
of Swansea
= Elizabeth dau. of
Sir Thomas Berkeley
of Beverstoke, (Glos.)

The Raglans of Llantwit¹⁰



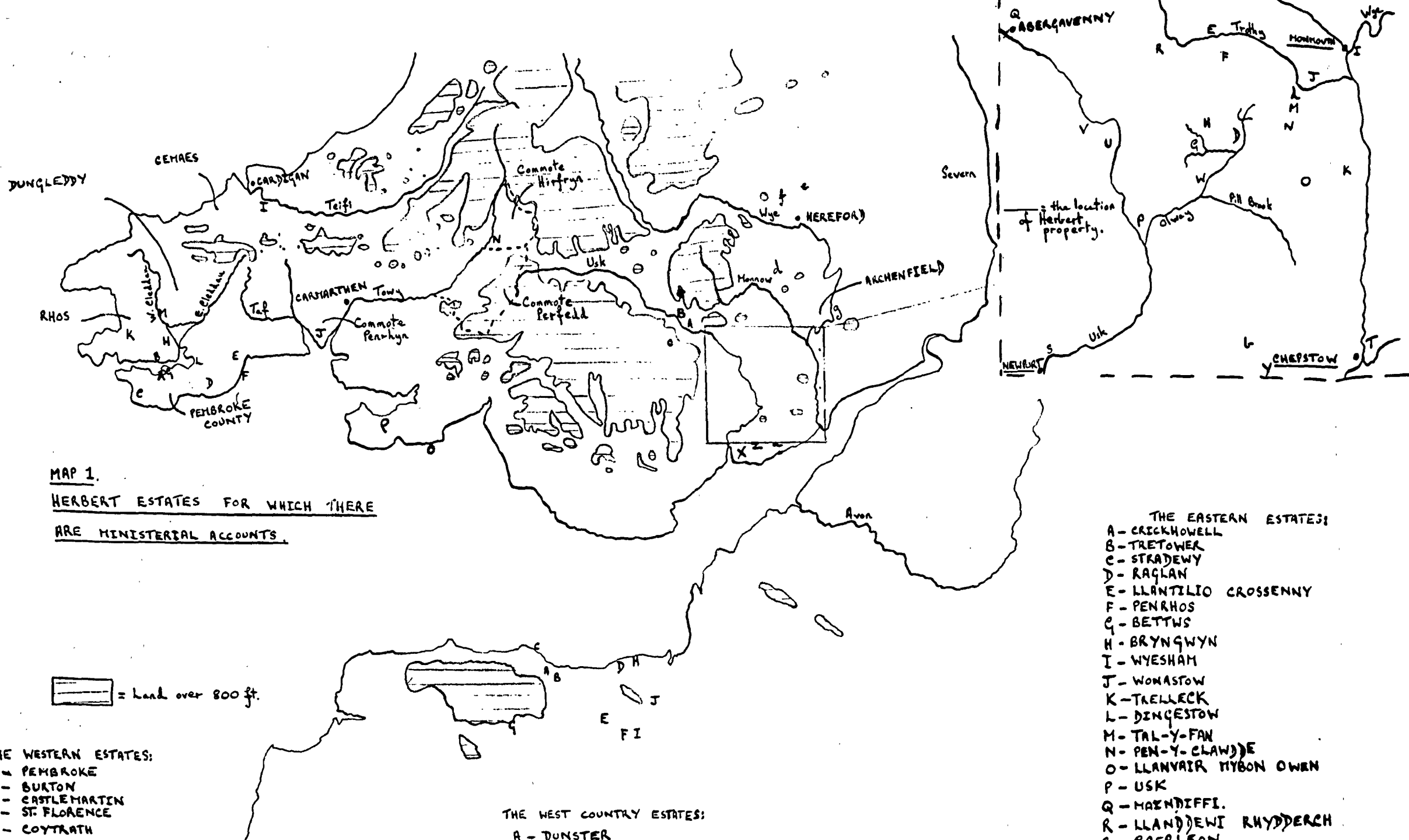
Robert

Lewis

Sir Hugh,
Vicar of Llantwit
by 1480.

The Herbert family

1. This information comes in the main from The Heraldic Visitations of Wales by Lewys Dwnn, edited by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick (Ilandover, 1846).
2. Sir James died in 1405. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. II, p. 132.
3. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 232, 235, 569, 690, 236, 95, 693, 238, 930 and 1261. T. Jones, History of Brecknockshire, Glanusk edn., Vol. III, p. 130.
4. H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, Cambridge 1915, p. 228.
5. In the codicil to his will, Herbert left two wrought silver pots to his brother, Morgan. P.C.C. Godwyn, 228.
6. The marriage took place in the Summer of 1484. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. X, pp. 402-3.
7. In his will of the 16th July, 1469, the Earl mentioned six daughters by name; Maud, Ann, Jane, Cecily, Katherine and Mary. Dugdale also refers to six daughters; but his list excludes Jane and Mary, and adds Isobel and Margaret. Their marriages suggest that Dugdale's Margaret was the same as Sir Thomas Herbert's Mary, and that Jane and Isobel were also identical. Cardiff Central Library, Ms. 5:7, 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8. Sir William Dugdale, The Baronage of England, London, 1675-6, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.
8. The Earl mentioned three of his base sons in his will: William, the eldest; John, the middle son, and Richard. Richard's mother was Maud, daughter of Adam ap Hoell-Graunt. Cardiff Central Library, Ms. 5:7, pp. 55-8.
9. Thomas was the son of Sir William by Cary Ddu of Troy, who bore him at least one other child, a daughter, Olivia. Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern, writing in the 17th. century, gave Sir William's legitimate issue as William, Richard, Margaret, Anna, Olive and Elizabeth, and Thomas, John Herbert of Itton and Olivia as his base children. Cardiff Central Library, Ms. 5:7, pp. 39-40. J.A. Bradney, History of Monmouthshire, London 1911, Vol. II, Part 1, p.9. T. Jones, History of Brecknockshire, Glanusk edn., Vol. III, p. 130.
10. G.T. Clark, Cartae et Alia Munimenta, Cardiff 1910, Vol. V, pp. 1657, 1664, 1666, 1709, 1717 and 1718. Cal. Close Rolls (1500-1509), no. 906.



MAP 1.
HERBERT ESTATES FOR WHICH THERE
ARE MINISTERIAL ACCOUNTS.

= Land over 800 ft.

THE WESTERN ESTATES:

- A - PEMBROKE
- B - BURTON
- C - CASTLEMARTIN
- D - ST. FLORENCE
- E - COYTRATH
- F - TENBY
- G - KINGSWOOD
- H - WILLIAMSTON
- I - CILGERAN
- J - LLANSTEPHAN
- K - WALWYN'S CASTLE
- L - CAREW
- M - HAVERFORDWEST
- N - LLANDOVERAY
- O - SWANSEA
- P - GOWER

THE WEST COUNTRY ESTATES:

- A - DUNSTER
- B - CARHAMPTON
- C - MINEHEAD
- D - EAST QUANTOX HEAD
- E - VEXFORD
- F - COTHELSTONE
- G - EXTON
- H - KILTON
- I - IVETON
- J - RADLET

Blantoncombe is situated in Devonshire a mile or two to the south of Honiton.
'Chilton Lutkerell' lay in Hayridge hundred in the same county.

THE EASTERN ESTATES:

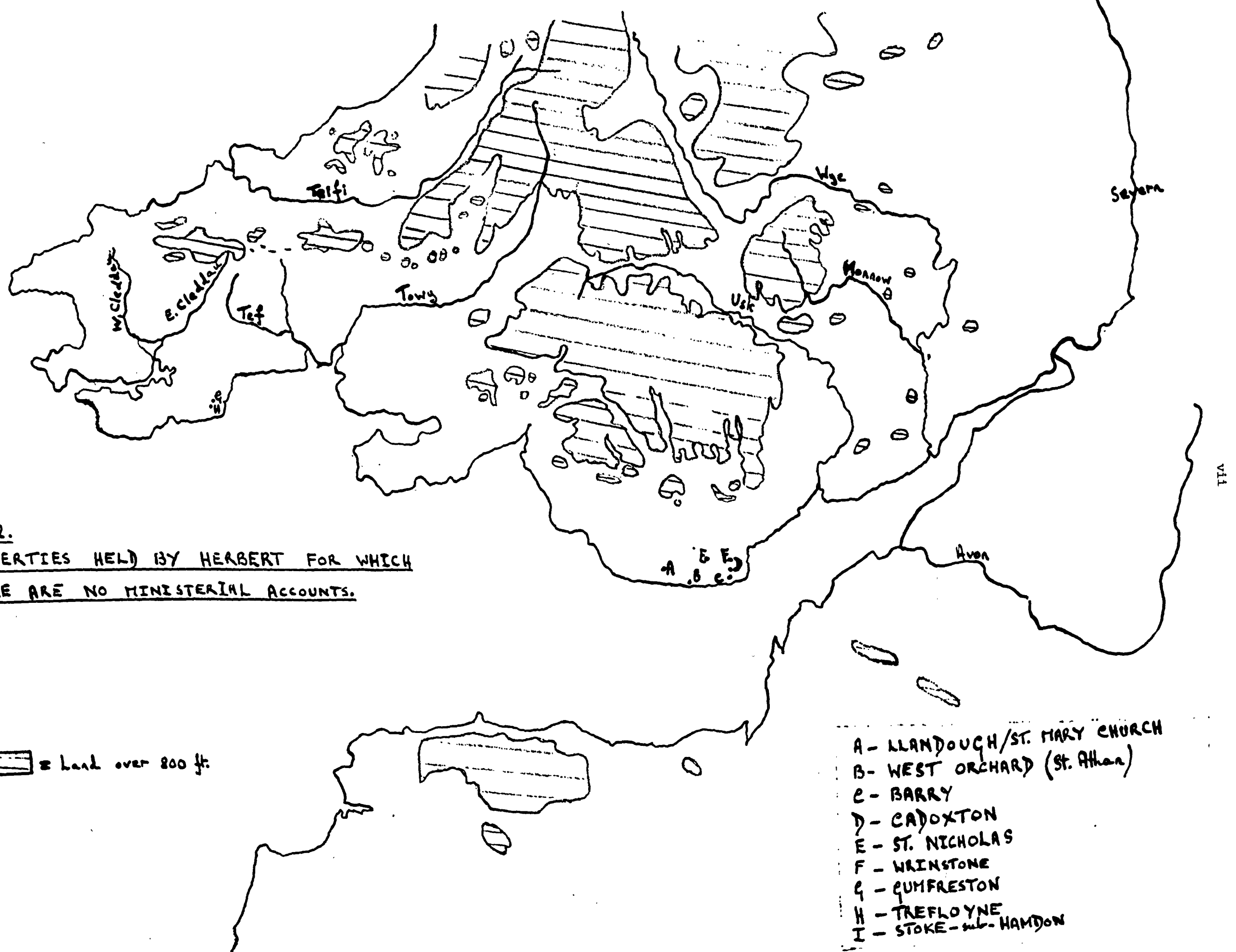
- A - CRICKHOWELL
- B - TRETOWER
- C - STRADEWY
- D - RAGLAN
- E - LLANTILIO CROSSENNY
- F - PENRHOS
- G - BETTWS
- H - BRYNGWYN
- I - WYESHAM
- J - WOMASTOW
- K - TRELLECK
- L - DINGESTOW
- M - TAL-Y-FAN
- N - PEN-Y-CLAWDDE
- O - LLANVAIR IYBON OWEN
- P - USK
- Q - MAENDIFFI.
- R - LLANDJEWI RHYDDERCH
- S - CAERLEON
- T - TIDENHAM
- U - COYTRE
- V - LLANOVER
- W - MATHENNY
- X - LEBENYTH
- Y - MOYNES COURT
- Z - MAJOR
- a - CALDICOT
- b - NEWTON
- c - ABERYSTRAUTH
- d - KILPECK
- e - WELLINGTON
- f - YAZOR
- g - GOODRICH

'Lagharne' and 'Berton' can not be located precisely. However the former was clearly situated in southern Gwent near to Newport, while Berton lay within the confines of the lordship of Chepstow.

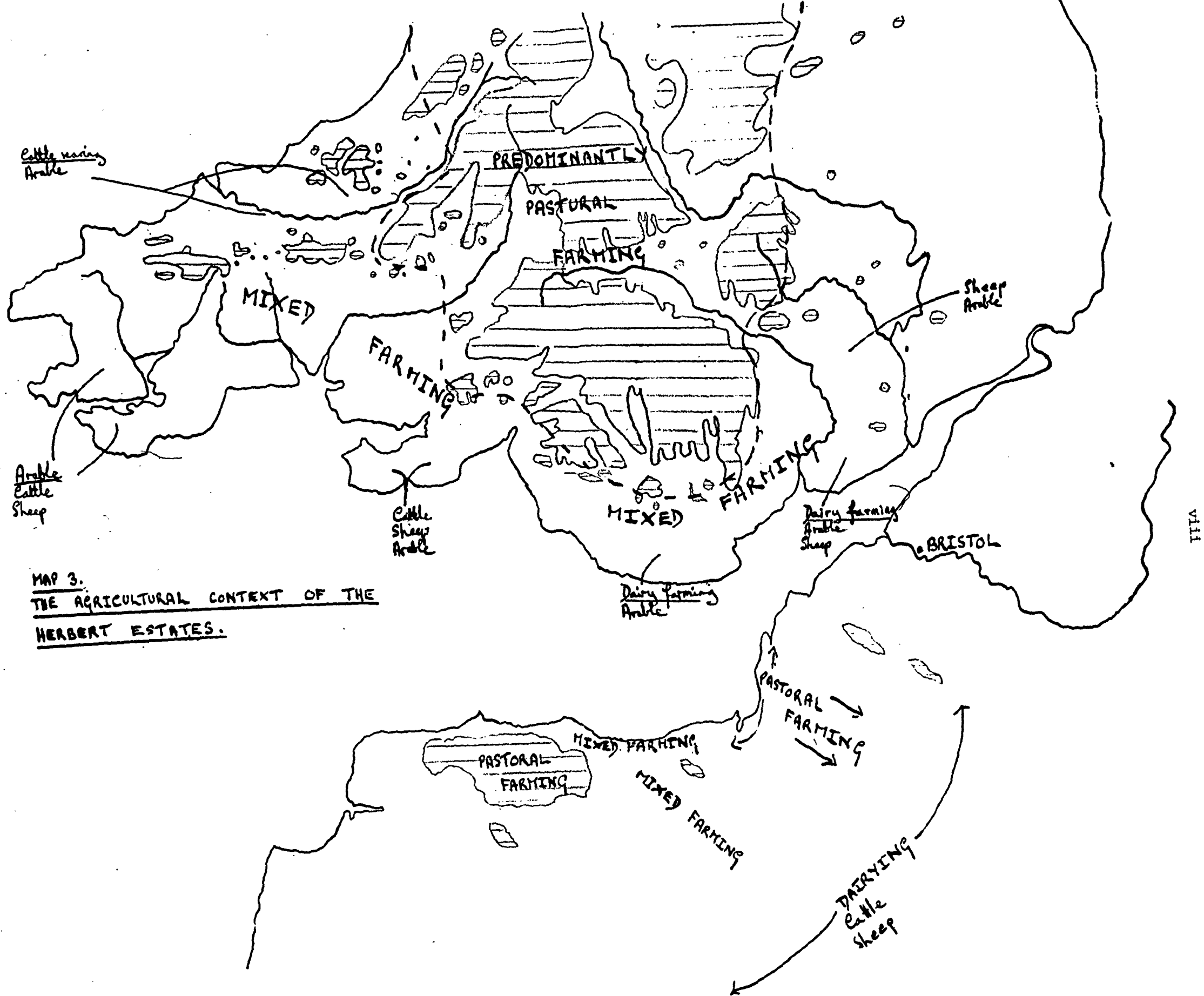
MAP 2.

PROPERTIES HELD BY HERBERT FOR WHICH
THERE ARE NO MINISTERIAL ACCOUNTS.

 = Land over 800 ft.



- A - LLANDOUGH / ST. MARY CHURCH
- B - WEST ORCHARD (ST. ATHAN)
- C - BARRY
- D - CADOXTON
- E - ST. NICHOLAS
- F - WRINSTONE
- G - CUMFRESTON
- H - TREFLOYNE
- I - STOKE - sub - HAMDON



MAP 3.
THE AGRICULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE
HERBERT ESTATES.

Maps 1-3 are based upon the following information:
W. Rees, An Historical Atlas of Wales, Faiver 1959, plate 35.

J. Thirk, The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV, chapters I & II.

Balaistun Harrial Records (especially 1501, 1502 & 1503).

PART I

Chapter 1

THE HERBERT FAMILY¹

William Herbert's career appears to have been one of meteoric success. The son of a Welsh squire, he rose to become one of the closest counsellors of Edward IV and the virtual ruler of Wales for that king. The meteoric quality of his rise to power is pointed by the abrupt and early ending of Herbert's career: less than a year after the reduction of Harlech Castle and the bestowal of the Earldom of Pembroke on the victor of the long struggle with the Lancastrians in Wales, the first Earl was defeated in battle and executed. This impression of a swift rise to power is however not altogether correct. Herbert did rise to power very rapidly, but he came from a family which had been improving its position throughout the early fifteenth century. Any survey of the first Earl's career must therefore take into account the background to that career, and in particular the work of William's father, Sir William ap Thomas.

* * * * *

Sir William was born the fifth son of a Welsh squire, Thomas ap William Jenkin, by Mawd, the heiress of Sir John Morley of Raglan. He was born into a class which provided the largely non-resident, local aristocracy with many of their administrators. Not surprisingly, William's career was above all that

1. As the Herbert family has recently been discussed in some detail by Mr. D.H. Thomas, I shall confine myself to sketching the main features of the family's rise to power. I should like to thank Mr. Thomas for all the help he has given me.
D.H. Thomas, 'The Herberts of Raglan as Supporters of the House of York in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century', University of Wales, Cardiff, M.A. thesis, 1967.

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of an official.

Although Sir William's service in the administrations of the Dukes of York and Gloucester is often stressed, an attachment which may have been of at least equal importance to him was that which he forged early in his career with the Beauchamp family. By 1421 William was the Steward of Joan, the dowager lady of Abergavenny.¹ In June 1437 Abergavenny, as one of the lordships of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was granted to John Throckmorton, Sir William ap Thomas and Thomas Huggeford for two years: the lordship had previously been passed to the king and other assigns of the Earl; these settlements probably being necessitated by the Earl's imminent departure for France as Lieutenant-General and Governor.² Throckmorton was the son of Thomas Throgmorton of Fladbury in Worcestershire, who had been retained by Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick: this familiar connexion with the Beauchamps was clearly effective for most of John's life.³ Thomas Huggeford was another of the family's most important servants.⁴ Sir William's association with men of this type is both an indication of the trust he enjoyed and probably a reflection of his capacity as an administrator. The transfer of 1437 was the first of a series of conveyances and commitals of

1. J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire, London 1911, Vol. II, part 1, p. 3. P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings; C.1 26/616.
2. Beauchamp was appointed in July 1437. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. XII, part II, p. 381. C.F.R. (1430-7), p. 342.
3. D.N.B., Vol. XIX, p. 810.
4. N.L.W. Bute collection: Box 84; 1059, 1060, 1061 and 1065.

Beauchamp properties, and Sir William's rôle in these transactions was always important. Shortly before her death in December 1439, the dowager-Countess Isabel was licensed to grant certain manors to her executors, who included both Sir William and Throckmorton. On the Countess's death, her lands were duly committed to Sir William and the others.¹ Some accounts for Beauchamp properties at this time make it clear that Sir William was very much a working member of the commission of custody, for he and Throckmorton are specifically mentioned at the head of the accounts as 'patentees'.² Sir William probably ended his life in the service of the last Beauchamp Earl: he was certainly serving as the Sheriff of Glamorgan in February 1440. His son, William, had moreover entered the Neville Earl's service very successfully prior to 1460.³

One of the greatest landowners in south-eastern Wales was the king as Duke of Lancaster. The Duchy lordships of Ogmore and Ebboth lay in western Glamorgan; that of Caldicot in southern Gwent, and Monmouth and the Three Castles - Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle - in the area drained by the Monnow. These estates were an obvious source of patronage so far

1. C.P.R. (1436-41), p. 279. C.P.R. (1436-41), pp. 359 and 360. C.P.R. (1446-52), p. 375. C.F.R. (1437-45), p. 122.
2. Their custody did not extend beyond 1442. N.L.W. Bute collection: Box 84; 1060, 1061, 1065. Box 83; 704. Box 91; Parcel A, 11, 12. Box 82; 655, 656. Box 93; 144. Box 63; Packet A, no.10. Box 63; Parcel H. D. A fellow custodian of Sir William's, John Nanfan of Moreton, Worcestershire, may have maintained a relatively close relationship with Sir William and his family. In the early 1440's, John - described as 'Nenfant' - was said to have accompanied Thomas Herbert when he raided Goldcliff Priory. He was not directly involved in the political crimes of Sir William Herbert and Sir Walter Devereux in the mid-1450's, but he acted as one of Sir Walter's custodians in 1457 and was pardoned as a mainpernor of Herbert's in the same year. Cal. Papal Registers: Papal Letters (1431-1447), pp. 472-4. P.R.O. Kings Bench (Crown Side): Coram Rege Rolls; K.B. 27/784, Rex 22. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 360.
3. G.T. Clark, Cartae et Alia Munimenta, Cardiff 1910, Vol. IV, pp. 1558-9. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 549.

as William ap Thomas was concerned; if only because of their proximity to his seat at Raglan. Between February 1428 and March 1431 he held the important office of Receiver of Monmouth, and in the early 1430's he was confirmed as Steward of Ebboth, after having occupied the position for five years without formal appointment. In 1432 he was appointed as Sergeant of Monmouth, White Castle and Grosmont, and Constable of Skenfrith. Perhaps the apogee of his career as a Duchy official was reached in January 1437, when he secured the valuable grant of the Stewardship of Caldicot during pleasure: this became a life grant in 1440. The final references to Sir William in the Duchy records relate to his service at Monmouth, where, in May 1441, he acted as the deputy of the Steward, Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Mortain, and, in July 1444, held the sessions.¹

Sir William's connexion with the Duke of York has been much emphasized, so little need be said here. By the 1430's he had progressed to the important office of Steward in Richard of York's lordship of Usk.² After an interval of some years, he was Steward again in July 1443.³ The connexion with York seems to have been one which endured for most of Sir William's life. He was clearly a trusted servant by March 1441, when he was made one of York's feoffees,⁴ and as a member of the Duke's military council in 1440 Sir William

1. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, London 1953, Vol. I. pp. 664n, 646, 647, 650, 652, 653, 654. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/18, Part I, fo's, 12a, 12b, 26a, 49a, 86b and 140a, (and) Part II fo. 74a. Sir William was frequently among those commissioned to hold the sessions on Duchy properties in South Wales. See, Part I, fo's. 30a, 86a, 144a and 145a.
2. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1588, 219 and 1044.
3. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1103. In 1442-3 Sir William is referred to on a valor of York's Welsh and Marcher lands as the Chief Steward: as such he received a fee of £20 from Usk and Caerleon and an annuity of the same value. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C.11/818.
4. H. Nicolas, Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, 1386-1542, Vol. V, p. 136.

probably saw service in France.¹

Humphrey of Gloucester was possibly one of Sir William's earliest patrons. The results of this connexion were less auspicious than those which flowed from his other links with the aristocracy; at least in the short term. Sir William's son, Thomas, and others connected with the family were implicated in the troubles which centred upon Gloucester's death at Bury in 1447.²

The Gloucester connexion was firmly established by the 1430's, when we find Sir William serving in the administration of Humphrey's estates in West Wales; he was Treasurer of Pembroke County in 1434/5.³ The administration of these estates possibly brought Sir William into contact with the neighbouring Southern Principality, for, by 1435, he was Sheriff of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire.⁴ It was moreover to Carmarthen that some of Gloucester's revenues were taken for delivery to the Treasurer in 1434-5. By September 1439 Sir William is found acting as William, Earl

1. J. Stevenson, Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, London, 1864, Vol. II, Part II, p. 585.
2. Sir H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, Second series, Vol. I, pp. 108-9. J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society, 1880, p. 65. J.S. Davies, An English Chronicle 1377-1461, Camden Society, 1855, Appendix. J. Bairdner, William Gregory's Chronicle of London, Camden Society, p. 188. Rymer, Foedera, 1741 Edition Vol. V, Part I, pp. 178-9. C.P.R. (1446-52), pp. 68, 74 and 75. For a fuller discussion of Thomas's involvement in the affairs of 1447 and its consequences, see below, pages 11-12.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563. - Sir William was also sufficiently esteemed to be made a feoffee of Gloucester and his wife, Eleanor Cobham, in November, 1435. C.P.R. (1429-36), p. 503.
4. His appointment was predated by service in this capacity in the latter county. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1962, pp. 639-40.

of Suffolk's deputy as Justiciar of South Wales. The following February Gloucester replaced Suffolk as Justiciar, an office which he held until his death in 1447, and predictably enough it was Sir William who acted as Gloucester's deputy at the Great Sessions on a number of occasions between 1440 and 1444.¹ These connexions in West Wales were important for taking Sir William outside his home area of Gwent and bringing him into contact with families like the Malefautes, Wogans, Dwnns and Cradocks. Although it would be difficult to demonstrate, it seems likely that many of the family's contacts with the gentry of West Wales had their origins during the lifetime of the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke's father. Sir William's work in this respect may, in fact, have influenced Edward IV in his choice of a governor for Wales; and it must have made Herbert's task at least marginally less difficult than it would otherwise have been. A glance at the Herbert family tree reveals the extent to which these western contacts were strengthened into alliances of marriage.

Probably as a result of his connexion with Gloucester, Sir William was appointed to the custody of certain monastic houses with the Duke and others in the early 1430's.² These were not however the only contacts Sir William had with the Church and its estates. It is a commonplace that the later medieval Church was to a considerable extent secularized by the infiltration of local gentry into the offices and farms of religious houses

1. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 622-4.

2. C.P.R. (1429-36), pp. 186 and 194. Alcestre's presentation however belonged to the king as Duke of Lancaster and this may also have weighed in the choice of Sir William as a commissioner. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster; Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/18, Part I, fo. 108.

and diocesan chapters, and Sir William was no exception in turning to the Church as a means of acquiring influence. He was, for instance, the Steward of the Tintern property of Portcasseg in 1444-5.¹

Sir William's interest in Goldcliff Priory however took a rather more violent form than his relationship with Tintern. In the 1440's a dispute broke out between the Prior - Laurence de Bonneville - and the mother house of Bec. Bec appealed to the commissioners appointed to oversee alien priories, who presented a monk of Gloucester, John Twyning, as Prior. Sir William ap Thomas and his son, Thomas Herbert, took a leading part in the violent attempts to force Bonneville to resign and to establish Twyning in his stead. Bonneville however refused to resign and returned to Goldcliff with, he claimed, the king's permission. Twyning had meanwhile transferred his claim to Tewkesbury.² The Abbot of that house secured royal letters of approval, forced an entry into Goldcliff and expelled the French monks with the aid of Thomas Herbert and others. Bonneville appealed to Henry VI and obtained adjudication against Tewkesbury; but to little practical effect. He finally complained to the Pope, who ordered an investigation. If the charges were proven, Sir

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1657. The Portcasseg court held on the 9th March 1445 was presided over by a deputy of Sir William's, but the June session was held before Thomas Morgan, the new Steward. A writ of diem clausit extremum was sent to the Gloucestershire excheator in respect of Sir William on the 3rd May: his death would thus seem to have occurred between the 9th March and early May. C.P.R. (1437-45), p. 301.
2. Sir William may have financed Twyning's activities, for in August 1441 Twyning, Thomas Herbert esquire and Thomas Ornell of Monmouth agreed to pay £50 to Sir William by Michaelmas. Twyning's estate as Prior was ratified by the Crown in September 1441, but by December Henry VI had decided to grant the advowson to Tewkesbury. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 37 and 108. C.P.R. (1441-46), pp. 2 and 29.

William, Thomas and others were to be excommunicated until they made amends, and Goldcliff restored to Bonneville.¹

Although the fortunes of the family were primarily founded upon Sir William's work as an administrator, they also owed a considerable amount to his marriages. The two bases of the family's influence cannot in fact be separated; the one affected the other. For instance, Sir William's first wife, Elizabeth Bloet, was the widow of Sir James Berkeley. She thus brought to her marriage a relationship with this most influential of western families, which numbered among its relations by marriage the Beauchamp family. To what extent his wife's relationship with Elizabeth Beauchamp helped Sir William in forging the close links he enjoyed with the Beauchamps is impossible to say, but it is at least possible that William was introduced into the latter family's service by his first wife.²

The Bloet marriage also brought one very tangible benefit to Sir William: the lordship of Raglan. Elizabeth apparently brought Raglan to William on their marriage. By a fine of 1419, William and his wife passed the lordship to feoffees; probably as a preliminary to the making of a testament by Elizabeth. Following Elizabeth's death in 1420, the property reverted to her son, James Berkeley. In July 1425 however he and his wife, Isabelle, granted William the property for life. By July 1432 Sir William's step-son had agreed to sell him the property outright: the fine which recorded the transaction mentions the sum of 1,000 marks as the selling price.

1. Cal. Papal Registers: Papal Letters (1431-1447), pp. 472-5. Rose Graham, 'Four Alien Priories in Monmouthshire' (in) The Journal of the British Archaeological Association 1929, pp. 102-121.

P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings, C.1, 12/195 and 196.

2. Sir William's first marriage lasted from about 1406 until 1420: the Berkeley Countess of Warwick followed her relative, Elizabeth Bloet, to the grave in 1422.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2286, 2291, 2287 and 2288.

The advantages of Sir William's second marriage, to a daughter of Sir David Gam, are more difficult to assess. The Gams had shown themselves sympathetic to the English during the Glyndwr Rebellion, and David Gam had fought for Henry V in France. It has been argued that the marriage secured Court favour for William ap Thomas. Gwladus lost both her husband, Sir Roger Vaughan, and her father at Agincourt, and may therefore have been regarded with some favour at Westminster. William certainly received some signs of favour from London. He was knighted with Henry VI in 1426 and was included on a number of commissions by the government. But, like Gam and Vaughan, William had served in France, and there seems little reason for thinking that because he did not enjoy the distinction of dying for the Lancastrians he needed a relationship with David Gam to obtain favours from Westminster. The favours were moreover pretty meagre and do not seem to require any other explanation than the undoubted ability and aristocratic contacts of the man. His career was not that of a Court favourite, but of an able gentleman, whose services were as valuable to the government as they were to his aristocratic employers.¹

By the end of his life Sir William ap Thomas had made his family one of the leading ones among the gentry of the eastern March. Full use had been made of his offices for the acquisition of property throughout Gwent.²

1. Perhaps the most important grant secured from the Crown was that of the custody of Sir Hugh Mortimer's lands in Magor and the regalian court of that lordship. The conditions of the farm were not however especially favourable when compared with those which governed the grant to John, Viscount Beaumont, the succeeding farmer. C.F.R. (1430-37), p. 98. C.F.R. (1445-52), p. 11. C.P.R. (1436-41), p. 536. C.P.R. (1441-46), p. 106.
2. The provenance of the estates is discussed elsewhere, see Appendix I.

The family had acquired a seat at Raglan, where Sir William had begun the Castle which would be further embellished by his successors.¹

Official contacts with practically all the large landowners of South Wales had been made, and the family's position strengthened by the contacts made with members of the gentry throughout south Wales and the eastern March.

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1. A.J. Taylor, Raglan Castle, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, 1950.

The son of Sir William who first achieved prominence was not William Herbert, but his elder half-brother, Thomas. Thomas spent the early years of his career abroad. According to William Worcester, he was a squire of the body to Richard of York during the French wars, and apparently also served in Portugal.¹ Thomas also made good use of other contacts of his father. For example, he followed Sir William into the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster: in October 1445 he acted as Edmund Beaufort's deputy as Steward of Monmouth and in June of that year secured the office of Steward of Hadnock.²

It was however as a result of the family's attachment to the Duke of Gloucester that Thomas first becomes prominent in the national records. He had probably entered Gloucester's household by the early 1440's, for a Thomas Herbert 'of Greenwich' appears on the Patent Rolls of 1442.³ This connexion led Thomas into serious trouble in 1447. Either at the time of Gloucester's arrest, or after his mysterious death, members of his retinue were arrested and imprisoned in a number of strongholds in southern England. Thomas was among those taken to London accused of having plotted to kill Henry VI, establish Gloucester in his place, and release the Duchess of Gloucester, who had been imprisoned for witchcraft. The accused were tried and found guilty at Deptford before the Marquess of Suffolk, and the sentences had been partially executed before Suffolk appeared

1. J. Harvey, William Worcestre: Itineraries, Oxford 1969, p. 341.

2. R. Somerville, op.cit., pp. 647 and 650n.

3. C.P.R. (1441-46), p. 14.

with a royal pardon.¹ It is not altogether clear whether the pardon protected Thomas's lands: the day before the pardon was enrolled, Suffolk had been granted the lands of Thomas and his wife, Agnes, and there was apparently no explicit revocation of this grant.² Thomas appears however to have lived down his disgrace by December 1450, when he was appointed as Sheriff of Shropshire.³

Of Thomas's career during the 1450's we know little. It is clear however that he was troublesome to the government. His brother, William, was probably involved in York's attempt to force his way into Henry VI's counsels in the early months of 1452, but he had clearly made his peace with the government by the end of that year. If-as seems likely-Thomas also took part in the adventure of 1452, he may have been more recalcitrant than his brother. In March 1453, at the meeting of Parliament at Reading, a recognizance was taken for the good behaviour of Thomas Herbert of Billingsley, Shropshire, esquire.⁴ The sureties included William of Raglan, who a few months before had himself been pardoned for offences committed prior to August 1452.⁵

1. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 341. Sir H. Ellis, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 108-9. J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society: 1880, p. 65. J. Gairdner, William Gregory's Chronicle of London, Camden Society, p. 188. J.S. Davies, op.cit., Appendix. Rymer, Foedera, 1741 Edition, Vol. V, Part 1, pp. 178-9.

2. C.P.R. (1446-52), pp. 68, 74 and 75.

3. C.F.R. (1445-52), p. 186. John Throckmorton was among the feoffees licensed in February 1444 to grant certain Staffordshire and Shropshire properties to Agnes Herbert and her heirs. Agnes died before February 1454. The inquisition post mortem return reveals holdings in Staffordshire and Shropshire which included the manor of Billingsley. C.P.R. (1441-46), p. 237. C.F.R. (1452-61), p. 56. Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem, Vol. IV, p. 258.

4. For Billingsley, see above, note 3.

5. C.Cl.R. (1447-54), p. 426. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 17.

Thomas's interests in his home area may have grown in importance following the death of his first wife. In June 1453, when he stood as a mainpernor for Walter Devereaux, he was described as 'of Billingsley, Shropshire', whereas he received a general pardon in June 1457 as 'Thomas Herbert of Little Troy, the elder, esquire'.¹ He may have engaged in trade during these years, for in 1454-5 an annuity paid from the Wyesham-Monmouth property of Sir William Herbert was receipted to 'Thomas Herbert, esquire, merchant'.² A commission to arrest 'Thomas Herbert, esquire' in dispute with Edward Cervington dated June 1459 was moreover addressed to the mayors of Salisbury, Bath and Bristol, as well as to the sheriffs of a number of western counties, which seems to support the theory that Thomas was engaged in trade.³

His relations with his brother and their patron, the Duke of York, were probably close during the years leading up to the Yorkist revolution of 1460. The general pardon issued from Coventry in June 1457 covered Thomas and related to disturbances in Wales and the Marches in which the family had played an important part.⁴ The nature of the disturbances is not altogether clear; although the evidence suggests troubles of a local

1. C.F.R. (1452-61), pp. 32-3. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, bill 6.

3. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 518.

4. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367. For the alleged offences of Thomas and his son, see; Ancient Indictments; K.B. 9/35, no's. 23, 24, 26, 32 and 52.

kind, as well as political demonstrations on behalf of the Duke of York, who had recently lost ground in Wales to Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.¹

The Court's policy towards the family was consistently one of moderation and as early as October 1457 Thomas Herbert was described as in the king's service on the high seas.² To an extent this policy was successful; no members of the family followed York to Ludford in 1459. The Court was obviously still pursuing its policy as late as June 1460, when a general pardon was issued to Thomas and William.³ Thomas's inactivity at this time is especially noteworthy, for he had opposed the central authorities on previous occasions and may have suffered materially for his loyalties. He had moreover served the house of York as his father had before him, and had also followed Sir William into the service of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.⁴ But the family's loyalty to Henry VI did not survive the Yorkist victory at Northampton in July 1460; and it is probable that Thomas was with other members of his family at March's side at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in February 1461.

1. This is discussed in greater detail below, pp. 20-22.
2. 48th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1887, p. 423. In October 1457 Warwick was appointed to keep the seas: Thomas's service may thus have been under his Neville employer (see note 4 below).
3. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 594.
4. In the mid 1450's he is found serving as the Constable and Receiver at Cardiff. N.L.W. Bute collection: Box 84; 1063. Box 91; Parcel A, 17. Box 82; 660. His son, Thomas Herbert the younger, esquire, was acting as one of Neville's deputies as Steward of Monmouth in July 1456. Newport Record Office, Newport 5059 and 5192.

Our knowledge of Thomas's career is most detailed for the years following the Yorkist usurpation of the throne. Created an esquire of the body before May 1461,¹ he was frequently commissioned - very often with his brother, William - to seize the lands of the king's opponents; to enquire into treasons in south Wales; to hold sessions of oyer and terminer, and to make preparations to defend Wales and the West from invasion.² In short, the task given to William Herbert by Edward IV - of policing, defending and conquering Wales for the Yorkists - also became that of his elder brother.

To a considerable extent, Thomas was probably included on commissions by reason of his relationship with William Herbert. In one or two cases however he may have been valued for himself, as in September 1462 when he was commissioned with Dr. Thomas Kent, the Dean of St. Severins, to go to Castile to treat with Henry the Impotent and his brother-in-law, the King of Portugal. The attempt to counter Louis XI's alliance with Aragon was unsuccessful, and the commissioners returned in the Spring of 1463, with substantial quantities of wine; some of which Thomas imported on his own account. It was similarly perhaps because of his interests in trade, that he was commissioned as a customs officer at Bristol in 1466.³

The grants and offices he received in Gloucestershire and the West Country suggest that

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 30.
2. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 30, 34, 38, 65, 99 and 100 (2). C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 54. For Thomas's significance in west Wales in the early 1460's, see N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1568 and 1564.
3. C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward IV, Longmans 1923, Vol. 1. pp. 260, 275 and 279. C.F.R. (1461-71), pp. 178-180 and 216-218.

Thomas was given special responsibility for that area. In June 1461 he was granted the office of Constable of Gloucester Castle for life and the following month an annuity of 50 marks for life from the Gloucester fee-farm as an esquire of the body.¹ He was appointed as Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset in November 1461, and the following March received custody of Beckford Priory, Gloucestershire and other lands in the county belonging to the alien priory of St. Barbe-en-Auge.² In July 1462 Thomas was rewarded by a grant of manors in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Devonshire forfeited by Sir William Mull. The Mull grant was reiterated in 1465, when lands in Devonshire late of Thomas Cornwall were added, as well as some Stepney property of Jasper Tudor's.³ Often on the Gloucestershire commissions of the peace during the 1460's, Thomas sat in Parliament for the county in 1468.⁴

It seems very appropriate in view of his early connexion with York that the rewards given to Thomas should also have included the office of Chancellor of the Mortimer Earldom of March: the grant, made in April 1467, was for life at a fee of £20 a year.⁵

The circumstances and date of Thomas's death present some difficulty. Warkworth states that Thomas was executed at Bristol after Edgecote (July 1469), and Robert Ricart, writing in Bristol shortly after the event, also

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 8 and 15.

2. C.F.R. (1461-71), p. 48. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 181.

3. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 197 and 424. Sir William Mull was killed at Towton

4. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 564. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 614. C.F.R. (1461-71), p. 231.

5. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 24.

relates that one of Herbert's brothers was slain there late in July.¹ William Worcester however has Thomas dying in his bed at Troy.² The evidence of the central records is not very helpful in this respect; but it was February 1470 before even the reversion of the Gloucester Constablership was granted to Richard Beauchamp and June 1471 before the office of Chancellor of March was regranted.³

Thomas Herbert had a son of the same name by his first marriage. Thomas the younger was included in the general pardon of 1457.⁴ In November 1461 - with his father, Thomas Herbert of Billingsley, standing surety for him - he was granted the Escheatorship of Gloucestershire.⁵ Two years later he received the offices of High Bailiff of Guines and Victualler of Guines Castle, and these offices - which were probably performed by deputies - were confirmed in 1468.⁶ Thomas died about 1474 without heirs, and his property passed to his cousin, William Herbert, a base son of the first Earl of Pembroke and henceforward known as 'of Troy'.⁷

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1. J.O. Halliwell, John Warkworth: A chronicle of the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward IV, Camden Society 1839, p. 7. L.T. Smith, Robert Ricart: The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar, Camden Society 1872, p. 44.
2. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 341.
3. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 183 and 262.
4. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367.
5. C.F.R. (1461-71), pp. 49, 129 and 222. C.Cl. R. (1461-68), p. 105.
6. C.Cl.R. (1461-68), p. 169. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 109.
7. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 448 and 454. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 347.

William Herbert was the most famous of Sir William's sons and the second founder of the family's fortune. He was born about 1423. His early career was set not in Wales, but in France. In December 1439 protection was granted to William going to France in the retinue of Sir Thomas Kyriell.¹ In February 1440 the protection was withdrawn because of his non-departure; he was then referred to as a 'chapman' and was to have helped victual Calais.² Herbert did however get to France, for in 1449, when the town of Carentan surrendered to the Duke of Brittany, its captains were the renowned Matthew Gough and William Herbert, the deputies of Lord Say. The following year Herbert was captured when Sir Thomas Kyriell was defeated at Formigny.³

Herbert's career during the 1450's can only be sketched because of the paucity of the evidence. He seems to have followed the family tradition of serving the Duke of York and, in April 1451, accompanied York on his expedition to the West Country to deal with the disturbances arising from the conflict between the Courtenays and the Bonvilles.⁴ He was possibly drawn into the Duke's abortive attempt to gain control of Henry VI's government in the early months of 1452. Whatever his involvement in the Dartford fiasco, the attitude of the Court does not appear to have been especially unfriendly, for Herbert - described as 'of Raglan, esquire' - was pardoned in October of that year.⁵

1. 48th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1887, pp. 331/2. Sir Thomas Kyriell was appointed Lieutenant of Calais in December 1439.
2. C.P.R. (1436-41), p. 374.
3. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, Part 11, pp. 625/6 and 630.
4. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, Part 11, p. 770.
5. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 17.

Unless an uncharacteristic slip was made in October, Herbert had not been knighted at that stage. The pseudo-William Worcester states that he was knighted in 1449, a dating which is certainly incorrect. That source associates Herbert's advancement with the bestowal of knighthoods and earldoms on the Tudor half-brothers of Henry VI. and the knighting of Thomas and John Neville, Roger Lewknor and William Catesby.¹ Now the Tudors were not advanced to their earldoms until late in 1452.² Lewknor first appears in the public records as a knight in June 1453; but he could still be referred to as 'lately esquire' in March 1455. Catesby was a knight by June 1453, but was still an esquire in December 1452.³ The evidence in four of the cases thus indicates that the events detailed by the chronicler - if they occurred together - must have happened late in 1452 or early in 1453. Certainly Herbert, the esquire pardoned in October 1452, was a knight when he stood as a surety for the good behaviour of his half-brother in March 1453.⁴ The knighting of a recent opponent of the government is only difficult to understand if we ignore the Court's evident desire to gloss over the recent troubles; an attitude evidenced by the Court's willingness to pardon most of the offenders of 1452. The knighting of Herbert at this point thus strengthens the evidence of conciliar moderation in 1452/3. It may also be significant that Edmund Tudor granted Herbert £10. a year for

1. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, Part 11, p. 770.
2. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. X, p. 398 and notes b and c.
3. C.F.R. (1452-61), p. 44 (2). C.P.R. (1452-61), pp. 31 and 215.
4. C.Cl.R. (1447-54), p. 426. The Badminton deed evidence suggests that Herbert was not knighted before April 1452. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1521.

life in October 1453, a grant which was ratified seven years later by a Yorkist government.¹

The success of this conciliatory approach towards Herbert is difficult to assess: for much of the period 1453-57 the government itself may have been doubtful of its wisdom. As early as 1453, Herbert was said to be making 'great assemblies and routs of people'.² In March 1456 he helped to seize control of Hereford and terrorize a session of the Hereford justices of the peace into the judicial murder of six townsmen for their alleged part in the killing of his kinsman, Walter Vaughan.³ The following month, a servant of the Earl of Wiltshire's was assaulted, imprisoned and robbed by Herbert and others at Orcop.⁴

In June 1456 the activities of the Herberts took a distinctly treasonable turn. Thomas Herbert and his son allegedly came to Ross in that month with a force of men arrayed for war and announced their intention of proceeding to Kenilworth to murder Henry VI.⁵ The treasonable intention of June was realized in August. Following the first battle of St. Albans, the Duke of York had secured the offices of

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 627.
2. R.L. Storey, The End of the House of Lancaster, London 1966, p. 178.
3. Ancient Indictments; K.B. 9/35, nos. 44, 60, 61, 70 and 72.
4. Ancient Indictments; K.B. 9/35, no. 115.
5. Ancient Indictments, K.B. 9/35, nos. 23 and 32.

Constable of Carmarthen and Aberystwyth Castles, but this grant had never been effective because of the recalcitrance of Griffith ap Nicholas, the virtual governor of the Southern Principality. In 1456 Edmund Tudor was sent into Wales to protect the royal interest and, despite initial trouble with Griffith, succeeded in taking possession of Carmarthen.¹ It was almost certainly this achievement which caused the August raid into the Principality by Herbert and Sir Walter Devereux, both of them servants of York.² Carmarthen Castle was captured and Richmond seized. Records were removed from Carmarthen - and from Aberystwyth Castle, which also fell into the hands of the rebels - and the seal of the Principality misused to commission Herbert, Devereux and others to hold a judicial session.³ The attack was apparently not long-lived, for Herbert and Devereux were appearing before a great council at Coventry in September. Herbert was there committed to the Tower; but succeeded in escaping back to Wales, where he and his agents were soon at work raising forces to resist the king. In March 1457 he was declared a rebel and a reward of 500 marks offered for his capture.⁴ By this stage, the Court clearly regarded Herbert's activities with some alarm. In March a commission of oyer and terminer was issued to enable the Duke of Buckingham and other nobles and justices to investigate the disturbances, and in April the Court itself moved into the Marches. At a session of oyer and terminer held on the 28th April, Herbert was persuaded

1. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters, 1904 Library Edition, Vol. III, p. 92
2. Sir Walter was also Herbert's father-in-law by this time; William having married Anne Devereux at Weobley in the Autumn of 1449. In terms of wealth; status as a Mortimer official, and personal involvement with the Duke of York, Sir Walter was probably of greater significance than Herbert in 1456-7, and was possibly the real leader of the expedition to South Wales. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 39.
3. Ancient Indictments; K.B. 9/35, no. 24.
4. C.Cl.R. (1454-61), p. 158. Ancient Indictments: K.B. 9/35, nos. 26, 52 and 102.

to appear before the king at Leicester, where, he was promised, his life and goods would be spared so long as he made amends to those whom he had injured.¹ Although the Court may have reacted generally with a certain clumsiness towards the situation, so far as Herbert was concerned the policy was once again to be one of leniency; wine forfeited by him because of his treason was returned in May, and in June he was pardoned for offences committed before May.² Others fared less well: Sir Walter Devereux and his son were taken to London and were not finally acquitted until February 1458.³

The Court's nervous reaction becomes a little more understandable when we consider Herbert's official connexions in the Marches. He was closely related in his office - holding to the aristocratic group which opposed the way in which Henry VI's government was conducted. He had served the leader of this group, the Duke of York, as Steward of Usk and Caerleon from 1450.⁴ The Abbot of Tewkesbury had had cause to complain of the behaviour of William Herbert, Warwick's Steward in Glamorgan, in 1449-50,⁵ and by 1453 he was Sheriff of the lordship of Glamorgan and Morgannwg.⁶

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), pp. 348-9. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters, Vol. III, p.118.
2. C.P.R. (1452-61), pp. 353 and 360.
3. R.A. Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Fall of the House of Lancaster', in Welsh History Review, Vol. 2, 1965. R.L. Storey, op.cit., pp. 178-182. P.R.O. King's Bench (Crown Side): Coram Rege Rolls; K.B. 27/784, Rex 6, 7 and 22.
4. T.B. Pugh, Glamorgan County History, Cardiff 1971, Vol. III, p. 624, (quoting N.L.W. Llangibby Ms. C.899). The Badminton deed evidence suggests that Herbert had been replaced by August 1451, when Henry ap Griffith was holding the Steward's office. He had apparently resumed office by January 1454 however. Newport Record Office, D.2.32. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1359. York was also possibly the most important landlord of Herbert's in the 1450's; Raglan and Tretower being held of Usk and Blaenllyfni respectively.
5. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1305/9.
6. T.B. Pugh, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 691. The first evidence that I can find of Sir William as the Steward of Neville's lordship of Abergavenny also comes from the year 1455. Newport Record Office: Newport 5050, and Misc. Ms. 316.

The full extent of Herbert's office-holding in the Mortimer and Neville estates of south Wales was revealed in February 1460, when the Lancastrian government confirmed him in his offices for life; presumably in an attempt to secure his continued loyalty, for he had had no part in the confrontation at Ludford, which resulted in the flight of York and Warwick. He was confirmed as Sheriff of Glamorgan, Steward of Abergavenny (another Neville property), Steward of York's lordships of Ewyas Lacy, Dinas, Usk and Caerleon, and Constable of Usk.¹

the
Herbert probably felt that circumspection was/best policy, until the Yorkist victory at Northampton persuaded him that it was safe to come out in favour of the group which had possession of the king. The failing Lancastrian government was continuing its policy of conciliation as late as June, in which month Herbert received yet another pardon; but in August the government, now acting on behalf of the absent York, directed its allies, Sir William, his brother-in-law, Walter Devereux, and half-brother, Roger Vaughan, to frustrate the activities of the Lancastrians, who were putting certain Welsh castles into defensive states.² From that point Herbert and Devereux were openly favourable to the Yorkist cause. They sat as members for Herefordshire in the Parliament of 1460, which was presented with York's claim to the throne.³ They were at the side of Edward, York's son, when he began his march to London early in 1461 and helped him to defeat a Lancastrian force at Mortimer's Cross in February.

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 549.

2. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 594. H. Nicolas, op.cit., Vol. VI, pp. 304-5.

3. History of Parliament: Register (1439-1509), p. 281. Clearly the attempts made to secure a Commons favourable to York met with considerable success in Herefordshire: both Herbert and Devereux being servants of the Duke's.

Jasper Tudor and the Earl of Wiltshire were put to flight, and a number of prisoners taken to Hereford and executed, including Owen Tudor and 'John Throckmorton, esquire'.¹

On reaching London, March and his followers went to York's London residence, Baynard's Castle. There, on the 3rd March, following a meeting of the populace at Clerkenwell at which the Chancellor had had Edward's titles to the throne published, a small group of peers, ecclesiastics and other followers met and agreed that Edward should be king. This group included Herbert and Devereux. The following day Edward went through certain rudimentary ceremonials to announce his accession to the throne.²

The kingdom was however far from won, and it is probable that Herbert accompanied the new king to the North and fought at the battle of Towton in March 1461.³ He had however presumably returned to Wales by early May, when he was commissioned to seize some properties of the Earl of Wiltshire.

Much of the rest of Herbert's career was spent in Wales, where, in the course of a few years, he was established as the king's lieutenant. But a vice-roy needed a landed base and a certain social standing. Herbert was deficient in both these respects and it was the purpose of many of the royal grants of the 1460's to remedy this situation. His status was quickly improved: in June 1461 he was summoned to Parliament as 'William

1. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. II, part II, p. 777. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 203 seq.
2. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. II, part II, p. 777. Rymer, Foedera, 1741, Vol. V, part II, p. 104. On the 10th March Herbert attended George Neville's institution as Chancellor. Several years later, he was to ^{be}equally prominent in the entourage which accompanied Edward to relieve Archbishop Neville of the Great Seal.
3. Certainly, Walter Devereux was knighted by Edward IV at Towton. W.C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights, London 1885, p. 2.

Herberde of Herberde'.¹ The concessions granted to him in respect of lands acquired before 1460 seem to have been primarily designed to boost the prestige of the family. In June 1463 the lordships of Crickhowell and Tretower, which Herbert held of the royal lordship of Dinas, were granted to him in chief.² A similar, but more important, concession was made in March 1465. Herbert, who already held Raglan in chief, Pen-y-clawdde and Mathenny from Usk, and Dingestow from Monmouth, was granted Usk lands in tail, and the existing and newly-granted lands were united to form one lordship, of regalion status and held directly of the Crown. This grant created, in effect, a new Marcher lordship - Raglan - as the head of the Herbert complex of estates.³ In 1466 the status of the family was further raised by a prestigious double-marriage which took place at Windsor. In September of that year William's son was married to Mary Woodville, the queen's sister, and Margaret, his daughter, to Lord Lisle. The younger William was knighted by Edward at the same time and created Lord Dunster.⁴ The apogee of Herbert's career however came in 1468, with the reduction of Harlech Castle; for which feat a grateful king bestowed the Earldom of Pembroke on him and his heirs.⁵

1. C.Cl.R. (1461-68), p. 61. Parliamentary Papers, 1826, Vol. VIII, (Appendix I Part II to the 1st. Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm), p. 956.
2. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 268.
3. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 425. Raglan was said to be held in chief, but there is no record of the lordship having being removed from its superior lordship of Usk. There may thus have been another stage in the creation of the royal lordship of Raglan; perhaps dating from Herbert's elevation to the rank of baron.
4. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. II, Part II, p. 786.
5. Journals of the House of Lords, 1829 (Appendix V to the Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm), pp. 374-5.

Herbert's lands were insufficient in quantity to support him in the task he had been assigned - that of winning and governing Wales. They were moreover concentrated in an area where Yorkist influence, if not over-riding, was at least well-represented. There was, in short, a need to grant Herbert lands; and preferably lands outside his home area. The process was begun in February 1462, when he and his heirs were granted Jasper Tudor's County of Pembroke with Cilgerran and Llanstephan; the Butler lordship of Walwyn's Castle in West Wales, and various properties in south-east Wales, which included the Talbot properties of Goodrich and Archenfield.¹ It was probably no coincidence that within days of this grant Herbert received the custody and marriage of Henry Tudor, the Earl of Richmond's son.² In his will of the 16th July 1469 he directed that Henry was to be married to his daughter, Maud,³ As it was very possible that Jasper Tudor would either die in exile, or be captured and executed, Henry was likely to be the sole heir of that family. The plan to marry him to a Herbert would, to some extent, safeguard the grant of the sequestered Tudor estates to William's family. It may moreover have commended itself to Edward as a means of simultaneously strengthening the prestige of the family he had chosen to rule Wales, while neutralising support for one which combined relationship with Henry VI with Welsh connexions. In June 1463 Herbert's estates were further augmented by the grant of the

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 114.

2. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 114.

3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

lands which had belonged to Sir James Lutterell. These estates lay mainly in Somerset around the head of the barony, Dunster; but there were also outlying properties in Devonshire and Suffolk.¹ William had been granted the custody of the Mowbray lands in West Wales in 1462 during the minority of John, the Duke of Norfolk's heir. In September 1468, John, Duke of Norfolk, was licensed to grant Chepstow with its members to the 'king's kinsman', William, Earl of Pembroke and his heirs, and by May 1469 the Earl had acquired not only Chepstow, but also Swansea, Gower, Kilvey, Oystermouth and Loughor from the Mowbray Duke.² These transactions, which were in part the results of a rationalization of the Mowbray estates,³ were probably encouraged by the king. Finally, the Woodville marriage resulted in further acquisitions. By the marriage indenture of March 1466, Herbert was to settle Dunster and other Lutterell lands on Mary and the younger William Herbert. In return, Rivers was to cause the king to grant Herbert and his male heirs Haverfordwest for 100 marks a year and the reversion of Kilpeck.⁴ Herbert was to receive, in addition, the Duchess of Bedford's dower interest in the Forest of Dean.⁵ A grant of September 1466 reflected this agreement exactly.⁶

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 286. Sir James Lutterell had been killed at the second battle of St. Albans (February 1461), and was attainted in Edward IV's first Parliament.
2. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 119. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 112 and 163.
3. G. Morey, 'East Anglian Society in the Fifteenth Century', London Ph.D. thesis, 1951, p. 89.
4. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 77 and 119. Lord Herbert was already holding Haverfordwest by a 20 year grant of 1462, and a William Herbert esquire had received Kilpeck in January 1462.
5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 52-4. Jaquetta, Duchess of Bedford, had married Sir Richard Woodville, afterwards Earl Rivers, following the death of John, Duke of Bedford.
6. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 533.

Herbert's lands were also augmented by grants of a temporary kind. In May 1461 he was commanded to take into the king's hands properties lately held by the Earl of Wiltshire, the Tudor Earl of Pembroke, Sir James Lutterell and the Earl of Shrewsbury.¹ These commissions resulted in the weakening or removal of Lancastrian influences in Wales and the Marches, and the simultaneous concentration of extensive sequestered estates in Herbert's hands. The results were by no means automatic, but Herbert moved with resolution.

He was, for instance, at Pembroke taking seisin for Edward and putting the Castle's defences in order by September.² But, while Edward wished to increase Herbert's landed wealth in Wales, he was also concerned to win over families whose loyalty to Henry VI was not incorruptable; that is, most of the peerage and gentry, who were ever ready to accept a fait accompli. Edward had thus to tread a fine line when rewarding his supporters, leaving as many families as possible the chance of regaining their lands by loyalty to the new régime. Commissions like those addressed to Herbert enabled lands to be placed in a state of limbo, which was profitable to Edward and his aides and tempting to the dispossessed. The king's policy was facilitated by the minorities of the early years of his reign. In September 1461 Herbert's position in Wales was greatly strengthened by the grant of the Stewardship of the Stafford properties in Wales and the Marches, which were in Edward's hands until the full age of Henry, the Duke of Buckingham's heir. This grant delivered into Herbert's supervision the extensive lordships of Brecon and Hay, which greatly strengthened his position in mid-Wales. The Stafford lordships of Newport and Wentloog was moreover farmed to Herbert from 1461

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 30 and 34.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

3. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 13 and 43.

Another temporary grant which facilitated Herbert's task in Wales was that of the farm of the royal lordship of Haverfordwest, which was granted to him for 20 years in February 1462.¹ In 1467 two more wardships were secured by Herbert. In June he was granted custody of the lands of the late Sir Richard Grey, Lord Powis, and the marriage and custody of the heir. He expressed the wish in his will of July 1468 that his daughter, Ann, should marry Lord Powis, which she did in, or after, 1471. The Grey lands lay mainly in Montgomeryshire and the adjacent Marches.² In October Herbert gained the custody of certain Talbot lands during the minority of Sir Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle. Here again, family interests seem to have fused with what was desirable for the government of Wales and the Marches, for Lisle had become Herbert's son-in-law during the preceding year.³

William Herbert was thus given the lands and status to enable him to tame and govern Wales for the Yorkists. A glance at the commissions sent to Herbert reveals the nature of the task. He was to defeat the Lancastrians in the west and north; to reconcile waverers; to punish the recalcitrant and defend the area from attack and invasion.⁴ So far as his immediate

1. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 119.
2. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 25 and 62. N.H. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, Vol. 1, p. 305. Dugdale, The Baronage of England, London 1676, Vol. III, pp. 255-260. Richard Grey, Lord Powis held lands in Shropshire and Wales, Rutland, Hampshire, York, Lincoln, Worcestershire and Suffolk. He was with York at Ludford, but surrendered to Henry VI soon afterwards and lost his lands. He received offices in Wales after the accession of Edward IV. He died in December 1466. As Henry VI granted the marriage of the Powis heir to Jasper Tudor during the Readeption, the marriage to Ann Herbert must have occurred after Edward IV's restoration in 1471. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. VI, p. 139.
3. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 49 and 51. Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland's son, was also given into Herbert's custody during the 1460's, and in this case too a Herbert marriage was the result. Ministers Accounts; S.C.6, 1225/1 and 2 and 1236/11.
4. For these commissions see, C.P.R. (1461-67) and C.P.R. (1467-77).

objectives were concerned, Herbert was remarkably successful. As early as October 1461 a correspondent of the Pastons was writing as though Wales were won and the Lancastrians defeated.¹ Although this was an over-optimistic assessment, Herbert's success in the west justified the optimism. But he had a positive governmental rôle too; a rôle which is reflected most clearly in the offices granted to him. On the 8th May, 1461 he was given the offices of Chief Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales, and Steward and Chief Forester in the commotes of the Southern Principality. The grant, which was for life, established Herbert as the judicial and financial head of the Crown lands in west Wales.²

In September 1461—at the same time as he received the Stewardship ~~control~~ of the Stafford lordships — he was granted the offices of Steward and Receiver of the Yorkist strongholds of Clifford, Glasbury and Winforton for life.³ Herbert was also continued in the offices he had enjoyed before the Yorkist coup and in September 1466 was confirmed as Steward of Usk, Caerleon, Dinas, Builth, Ewyas and Clifford; Constable of Usk, Caerleon, Dinas, Builth and Clifford, and Chief Forester and Master of the Hunt in the royal forests and chaces of south Wales. By this confirmation — which included his offices in the Southern Principality — the posts became hereditary

1. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters, Vol. III, p. 312. For Herbert's work in the Summer of 1461 in west Wales, see, Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1224/5 and 1224/6.
2. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 7.
3. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 43.

in the male line.¹ Similarly, in July 1466 offices in various Duchy of Lancaster lordships, granted to Herbert at the beginning of the reign, were re-granted in tail. The offices of Steward Constable and Receiver of Ogmore, and Steward and Constable of Monmouth thus became the hereditary properties of the family.² Lord Herbert was thus to administer the private and public south Walian properties of the Yorkist king. His achievement in this respect was the logical outcome of his own early career, and, rather more so, of his father's. He was thus one of many able men, who moved without difficulty from the administration of private and semi-public estates into the government of the Crown lands.

But Herbert's activities were not restricted to south Wales. Lancastrian resistance became confined to North Wales within a year of Edward's accession; the activity centring upon Harlech Castle. In June 1463 Herbert's commission to help to deal with the situation in the north had its origin in a life-grant of the offices of Chief Justice of Merioneth and Constable of Harlech. When this grant was confirmed in October 1464, the offices of Chamberlain of Merioneth and general receiver of the royal farms were added.³ The first serious attempt to take Harlech

1. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 526.

2. The Duchy lordship of Caldicot had been granted outright to Herbert in February 1465, with effect from 1461. The lordship had also been included in the general grant of 1462. R. Somerville, op.cit., pp. 644/5, 648/9 and 654 n.2. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 114.

3. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 271 and 352.

was made in the Autumn of 1464,¹ the need for action being pointed by the presence in north Wales of Jasper Tudor. The commission issued in October to William, his brother, Richard and Sir Walter Devereux to receive the rebels in Harlech and Merioneth into the king's allegiance was merely another aspect of the wider Yorkist policy relating to north Wales.² Further grants were made, to Herbert in north Wales in 1467; grants which signified that the main responsibility for operations in the area was thenceforward his alone. In August he was granted the offices of Constable of Denbigh, and Steward of Denbigh and Montgomery, Ceredigion and Carmarthen. The same month he was appointed as Chief Justice of North Wales for life and his Harlech office was confirmed.³ In June 1468 Jasper Tudor invaded north Wales, but most of his fleet and men were repulsed: Jasper however remained in the area, stirring the inhabitants into acts like the raid on the royal town of Denbigh. There was one action in the field, in which Herbert's brother - probably Sir Richard - overcame Tudor's forces and caused him to flee.⁴ According to Sir John Wynn, the raid on Denbigh was the incident which led to the final drive to crush Harlech: 'In revenge whereof Edward the Fourth sent William, Earl of Pembroke, with a great army to waste the mountain countries of Carmarthen and

1. C.L. Scofield, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 338.

2. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 355.

3. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 22 and 41. John, Earl of Worcester, had been persuaded to give up the office of Justice in August 1466 so that Herbert could have it.

4. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, Part 11, p. 791. Over £3 was spent in 1467-8 on sending messengers from Carmarthen to Aberystwyth and into north Wales, and from there to Raglan to report on the activities of the rebels. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1225/2.

Merionethshire and to take in to the castle of Harlech held then by David ap Ievan ap Eignon for the two Earls, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, the remains of the Lancastrian faction.¹ In November 1468 the newly-created Earl of Pembroke had his hold on the Northern Principality confirmed by the grant of the offices of Constable and Captain of Conway and Forester of Snowdon for life, and in April of the following year he received the Chamberlainship of North Wales.² Herbert's monopoly of the chief judicial and financial offices in North Wales was comparable to the situation in the Southern Principality, and, so far as the Crown lands were concerned, the Earl was the ruler of Wales.

Although William Herbert's energies were largely directed towards Wales, he was much more than a regional governor. He had a career as a courtier and national politician. This aspect of his life has necessarily left fewer traces on the records than his task as the king's lieutenant in the West. The king's knight and Parliamentary committee-man enjoyed an intimacy with his sovereign which obviated the need for written commands: records may in fact have been actually undesirable in the context of Court politics.

It was probably in the Winter of 1460-1 that Herbert endeared himself to Edward of March. He returned to the Marches after attending the 1460 Parliament and almost certainly helped the young Earl to raise troops there. He had been created a king's knight before the Yorkist coup, and continued to enjoy this title, with its suggestion of intimacy with the sovereign, even

1. Sir John Wynn, The History of the Gwydir Family, Cardiff 1927, pp. 33-4.
2. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 113 and 154.

after he had been raised to the peerage by Edward IV.¹ He did not however have to content himself with the title of 'king's knight' for long, for he was among those of Edward's supporters created barons in June 1461; his new status being registered by his receipt of a personal summons to the Parliament, which was due to meet in the Autumn of that year.² After a busy spell in Pembroke taking possession for Edward,³ Lord Herbert arrived in London for the meeting of this Parliament. W.H. Dunham suggests that the committed Yorkists were used by the government on this occasion to override potential opposition to its policies; certainly the committees in the Lords were largely staffed by government supporters, and Herbert, for instance, saw duty on a committee appointed to treat with the Staplers.⁴ Following the meeting of Parliament, Herbert and Devereux - now Lord Ferrers of Chartley - accompanied Edward on his expedition to the North to deal with the Lancastrians, who were holding a number of strongholds in the Marches.⁵ Herbert probably did not remain long in the North because the appointments which mark the beginning of the drive to eradicate Lancastrian influence in Wales date from June 1463.

Although much of the rest of his life seems to have been spent in Wales, Herbert clearly remained a close friend and counsellor of Edward. Created a

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 549. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 114.
2. C.Cl.R. (1461-67), p. 61 Parliamentary Papers, 1826, Vol. VIII, (Appendix 1 Part 11 to the First Report on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm), p. 956.
3. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, p. 30. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
4. W.H. Dunham, The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal, Yale U.P. 1935, pp. 20 and 59.
5. J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles, Camden Society, 1880, p. 157. P.R.O. Special Collections: Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6. 1224/7. Herbert apparently received £400 from the issues of South Wales for the expenses he had incurred in the North in the Winter of 1462-3.

knight of the Garter in March 1462, his favour in the king's eyes seems to have been undiminished in 1468. In October of that year a friend of Sir John Paston urged him to persuade the Neville Archbishop of York to gain the support of the Lord Treasurer, Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers; the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duchess of Bedford for a project of Paston's.¹ Herbert was clearly still a power in the land. Earlier in the year, a correspondent had written to Louis XI telling him of the trouble between Edward and Warwick: Warwick was reported to be refusing to obey the king's summons so long as Rivers, Herbert and Scales were about him.² These evidences of Herbert's influence are corroborated by the articles issued by Clarence, Warwick and Archbishop Neville in 1469. 'The Lord Rivers, the Duchess of Bedford, his wife, and their sons, Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devonshire, the Lord of Audeley and Sir John Fogge and other of their mischevious assent and opinion ... have advised ... our said sovereign lord to give of ... (his) livelode and possessions to them above their deserts and degrees ...'.³ It is true that these articles were the work of a faction and are unreliable in that they exclude favourites approved of by the Nevilles. Nor are they a satisfactory guide as to what was thought of the social and political progress of Herbert and Stafford outside the Neville circle. The articles may however indicate the identities of the people who were often with Edward and could thus have had influence with him: the charges would be incredible unless the frequent access of these persons to the king's presence was a generally-known fact.

1. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters, Vol. IV., p. 305.

2. C.L. Scofield, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 443.

3. J.O. Halliwell, op.cit., p. 48.

Most of the references to Herbert's rôle in national politics in fact relate to the rift between the king and Warwick, once the epic deeds of the initial years were over. Herbert's rôle in the quarrel was probably secondary. Warwick's main grievance was clearly against Edward, the young man he had helped to set on the throne and who now chose to rule for himself. Warwick was honoured; but his advice on foreign and domestic affairs was not always heeded, especially as the young king began to find his feet. In this situation, the honours heaped on a man Warwick may have regarded as his protégé were perhaps galling to the Earl.

Herbert's rôle ¹may however have been more positive than this. He perhaps encouraged the king to assert himself. Warwick's main territorial sphere of influence was not so distant from his own, and their interests may have been sufficiently close for competition to have arisen between them. Hall suggests that they both sought the Bonville wardship, while the pseudo-William Worcester states that there was ill-feeling when Herbert's son was created Lord Dunster; a title Warwick could claim as a descendant of the Montacute family.¹ It was perhaps merely coincidental that Herbert was among those who accompanied Edward in June 1467, when he went to Archbishop Neville's house to relieve him of the Great Seal; but the pseudo-William Worcester saw fit to mention only Herbert's name of all the lords attending the king.² And it was at least unfortunate that it was Herbert who captured a Lancastrian courier, who, on being sent to London, accused many people of treason, among them Warwick.³

1. Hall's Chronicle, London 1809, p. 273. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, part 11, p. 786.
2. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, part 11, p. 786. C.C.I.R. (1461-68), pp. 456/7.
3. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, part 11, p. 788.

However, early in 1468, the difficulties with Warwick were patched up at Coventry with the aid of the Archbishop of York, and among those who came to agreement with the Earl were Herbert, Stafford and Audeley.¹ The peace was however a hollow one; a mere preliminary to the troubles of that year and 1469. There were disturbances in the North in both years, and in May of the latter year Herbert was included on a commission of oyer and terminer headed by Gloucester and Clarence and covering the northern counties and the city of York.² In June Clarence slipped out of the country to Calais; married a daughter of Warwick's, and agreed to take his part against the king. From Calais the conspirators stirred up the troubles, publicized the aims of the revolt and set about arranging their return to England. Meanwhile, the troubles in the North engineered by Warwick and Clarence revealed their true, political nature as Edward journeyed leisurely northwards to deal with them in July: at Newark the king halted and then fell back to Nottingham. It was probably at this point that he summoned Herbert and Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devon, to his aid. The summons brought both Earls to Edward's help with the forces they had raised, but there seems to have been some disagreement between the two men on the eve of the battle with the northern rebels at Edgecote, near Banbury, and it is possible that Stafford withdrew his force of archers before the battle commenced. The king's forces were anyway defeated on the 26th July, and Herbert and his brother, Sir Richard of Colebrook, were taken to Northampton, where the rebel peers had

1. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, part 11, p. 789.

2. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 170.

either arrived, or were expected shortly. After an altercation with Warwick, Herbert and his brother were condemned to death and executed.¹

Most of the accounts of Edgecote and its aftermath are favourable to Warwick and denigrate Herbert as a despoiler of the Church justly punished by God.² Nevertheless, the events do Warwick little credit. The actions of July and August 1469 have the taint of a personal vendetta: Thomas Herbert was possibly hunted down and executed in Bristol, while Rivers, Sir John Woodville and the retreating Devon were certainly exterminated by the Earl and his followers.³

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1. J.O. Halliwell, op. cit., pp. 6-7. H.T. Riley, Inglulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, London, 1854, pp. 445-7. Sir H. Ellis, Polydore Vergil's English History, Camden Society, 1844, pp. 120-4. Sir H. Ellis, John Hardyng's Chronicle, London, 1812, pp. 441-3. Sir William Hardy, Croniques, etc. par Waurin: 1447-71, London, 1891, pp. 581-4. Hall's Chronicle, London 1809, pp. 272-5. J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society, 1880, pp. 182-3. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, The Great Chronicle of London, London, 1938, pp. 208-9. John Stow, The Annales of England, 1592, pp. 691-2. Gloucester Annals (1449-69) [in] C.L. Kingsford, English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, Oxford, 1913, p. 356.
2. J. Gairdner, Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, Camden Society, 1880, pp. 182-3. C.L. Kingsford, op. cit., p. 356. Certainly so far as the Gloucester annalist is concerned this charge was probably related to the family's attacks on Goldcliff Priory in the 1440s, although William had also shown a lack of reverence for the property of nearby Tewkesbury.
3. Mr. McFarlane, speaking of the treatment of those captured in arms, felt that Warwick's record was considerably worse than that of the Earl of Worcester's, 'who however much he may have enjoyed the task of judicially murdering the King's apponents was only obeying orders ...', and that, 'the execution of Pembroke, Rivers, and others after Edgcote had, as Ramsay rightly observes ... no 'legal justification', since they were not in arms against the King Warwick then acknowledged. The beheading of Osbern Mundford and his two companions in 1460 at Calais, of which Warwick was captain, is an early example of such lawlessness.' K.B. McFarlane, 'The Wars of the Roses' [in] Proceedings of the British Academy, 1964, p. 101.

William Herbert was ably supported in the tasks he was called upon to perform by other members of his family. His brother, Richard, in particular, was often at his side. He took part in the disturbances of 1456-7, and was pardoned in June 1457 as 'Richard Herbert, late of Abergavenny, esquire'.¹ At Mortimer's Cross with his brother and Edward of March,² he was rewarded for his services in February 1462 with lands in Herefordshire and the Marches, forfeited by Sir John Skidmore and Thomas Fitzharry.³ In April 1462, with Roger Vaughan, Richard was sent from Raglan to west Wales to take the oaths of Thomas and Owen ap Griffith and to receive the castle of Carreg Cennen from them. He may also have helped his brother to tear down that fortress at the king's command.⁴ He had been knighted before June 1463, when he was commissioned to receive rebels into the king's allegiance.⁵ Richard clearly took an active part in the campaigns against the Lancastrians in Wales, and it was probably he who defeated Jasper Tudor's forces in 1468.⁶ He also shared in the task of governing Wales and in 1467-8, for example, was the recipient of a number of commissions of oyer and terminer for Wales and the Marches.⁷

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367. Ancient Indictments; K.B. 9/35, no's, 24, 26, 44, 61, 70 and 72.

2. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 205.

3. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 77.

4. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6. 1224/7.

5. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 280.

6. J. Stevenson, op.cit., Vol. 11, part 11, p. 791.

7. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 54, 57, 58 and 102.

But Sir Richard was more than a soldier and government commissioner. He also played a part in the administration of his brother's extensive estates. Thus, in 1465-6 we find him receiving a fee as the Steward of Llandovery, and in the following year he was involved in the transmission of monies from another of the western estates of Lord Herbert, Llanstephan.¹ The Stafford lordship of Newport became another of his responsibilities when his brother created him Sheriff of Wentloog and Steward of Machen.² Sir Richard also served alongside his brother in the administration of the Stafford lordships in mid-Wales; in 1463-4 the Receiver of Hay was allowed the expenses of Sir Richard, the Steward, being at Hay on the king's business and especially to settle disagreements between the tenants.³

He was employed in the administration of the Southern Principality by Herbert; serving as deputy-Justiciar in 1464 and 1466; Constable of Cardiganshire in 1463, and Escheator of the two counties from 1461 until 1469.⁴ Sir Richard had a personal connexion with the Southern Principality; having married Margaret, the daughter of Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1562 and 1502.
2. N.L.W. Tredegar Mss., Box 12, no.4. N.L.W. Dixon Mss., no's 7 & 8.
3. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1157/10.
4. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 625, 641 and 644. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1224/5-9 and 1225/1 and 2.

Richard's career came to an end in July 1469. He impressed many of the commentators by his valiant performance at Edgecote; but was eventually captured, taken to Northampton and executed alongside his brother.

Lord Herbert was also aided by a William Herbert, esquire; possibly a half-brother of his. This man's career seems to have been set mainly in west Wales. William Herbert, esquire, and Lewis ap Guillim ap Thomas farmed the lordship of Dynevor between 1456-7 and 1460-1.¹ It was possibly this William who was in receipt of a fee of £7.10s. from Richard, Earl of Warwick in 1461.² Commissions of oyer and terminer, and enquiry into treasons relating to south Wales were addressed to him and Lord Herbert in the same year, and in August he was granted the office of Constable of Cardigan Castle for life.³

A William Herbert - probably the same - acted as the baron's deputy as Chamberlain of South Wales between 1465 and 1468.⁴ He was rewarded for his services in January 1462 with a grant in tail male of Kilpeck in Herefordshire; the reversion of which was granted to Lord Herbert in September 1466.⁵ He was probably the William Herbert, esquire, who served as the Treasurer and Steward of Herbert's County of Pembroke during the 1460's and was in office as the Steward of Castle Walwyn in 1463/4.⁶ William

1. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1168/8. West Wales Historical Records: Vol. II, p. 112. R.A. Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Fall of the House of Lancaster' [in] Welsh Hist. Rev., 1965.
2. N.L.W. Bute Collection: Box 93, no. 146.
3. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 38, 42 and 65.
4. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 629.
5. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 77 and 533. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 52-4.
6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564, 1567, 1501, 1502 and 1503. In 1466-7 letters were sent to Pembroke summoning William Herbert, esquire, to Carmarthan on the king's business, which suggests that the Principality and County officials were the same. Ministers' Accts.; S.C.6 1225/1.

Worcester reports that a William Herbert, a bastard brother of Lord Herbert's, was killed at Bristol in July 1469.¹ On the other hand, Warkworth has a William Herbert of Brecknock, esquire killed at Edgecote.² Despite this confusion, it would seem that William perished in the events of that Summer, for the office of Constable of Cardigan Castle was regranted because of his death in February 1470.³

At least one other brother of the Earl perished in 1469. John ap Guillim Thomas of Itton, esquire, had a career which was considerably less public than those of Richard and William.⁴ He worked in the administration of Herbert's estates, and as his brother's deputy on the lands of his neighbours. The first reference to him among the Badminton deed evidence dates from August 1451, when he was empowered to deliver seisin for his brother, William Herbert, lord of Raglan.⁵ From January 1454 he appears as Herbert's deputy as Steward of the Tintern property of Portcasseg, and continued to

1. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 341. Worcester was probably correct; although it is by no means certain that the William he was referring to was the same as the official of west Wales. Two other sources - one of which was actually written in Bristol - tell of a brother of the Earl being killed in the town. The public records reveal a William Herbert associated with Bristol in the 1460's. J.O. Halliwell, Warkworth's Chronicle, p. 7. L.T. Smith, Ricart's Calendar, p. 44. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 216, 514 and 327.
2. J.O. Halliwell, op.cit., pp. 6-7.
3. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 185. Warwick had taken over the Constablenesship in August 1469.
4. John had been deeply implicated in the events of 1456 but secured a pardon in 1457. Ancient Indictments, K.B. 9/35, No's. 24, 26, 44, 52, 61, 70 and 72. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367.
5. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 232.

act in this capacity into the 1460's. He presided over the court of July 1469, but the November session was held before the deputy of Thomas ap Morgan, the new Steward. The roll for that session contains entries which state that John ap Guillim was dead.¹ John also served as Herbert's deputy as Steward of Usk on several occasions in the 1450's, and 1460's,² and in the early 1460's held the office as Steward of Raglan by a life grant.³ Like his brother, Richard, he was also employed in the lordship of Newport. In March 1466 the communities of the town and lordship agreed to pay tallages before John ap Guillim, one of the commissioners of William, Lord Herbert.⁴ John was certainly dead by 1487, and the deed evidence suggests that the Portcasseg dating of his death is correct. William Worcester states that a John ap Wyllem, esquire, was killed at Edgecote, but describes him only as a 'brother of Lord Herbert in France', which may not mean a blood relationship.⁵

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In 1469 then the Herbert family lost its head and a number of its important members. The management of the family's estates fell to Herbert's widow, Anne. It is clear from the accounts of the 1460's that the Countess had more than served her apprenticeship in the management of a complex of estates by 1469. She is there to be seen purchasing items for Lord

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1657.
2. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 226, 494, 689, 1108. Newport Record Office, D.2.32, and Newport 6125 and 6131.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1582-4. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1125 and 1726.
4. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.
5. J. Harvey, op.cit., p. 341. Presumably, Worcester meant a brother-in-arms.

Herbert, receiving cash and paying creditors. Her duties in the mid-1460's were probably heavy, even for a woman of her rank and time. Of Anne's ability we know little; but it was not any lack of capacity on her part which worried the Earl before his death. It was the vulnerability of his son's interests if Anne re-married. Pembroke thus bequeathed his wife the lordship of Chepstow in the will he made on the 16th July 1469; provided that she would take the order of widowhood.¹ On the 27th July Herbert returned to the subject: 'and wife, that ye remember your promise to me, to take the order of widowhood, as ye may be the better master of your own, to perform my will, and to help my children...'² In November 1469 the Countess secured the custody of Herbert's lands for her son's minority, with the exception of the Lutterell lands. However, in December 1472, she managed to obtain the custody of Dunster and most of the Lutterell lands for £90 a year.³ A great danger - that of custody by a rapacious guardian - was thus averted so far as the family's estates were concerned. The Countess's custody came to an end in 1475, when the second Earl of Pembroke was licensed to enter his inheritance.⁴ Later, Anne served as a feoffee for her son, and saw the bulk of the family's estates pass to her granddaughter and her husband, Charles Somerset, before her own death in 1509.⁵

1. N.L.W.: Badminton M.R., 1502 and 1503. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8. The will provides several indications of the suspicious nature of the Earl's mind, as well as a suggestion of his son's incapacity. Thus, if Anne refused to take the order of widowhood, Lord Dunster was to be included as an executor; presumably to enable him to protect his own interests. Even then Herbert felt the need to impress his son with the importance of his rôle: he was particularly ordered 'not to let my will escape him', which suggests that this was a possibility.
2. N.H. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta, Vol. 1, p. 305.
3. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 174 and 364.
4. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 566.
5. C.Cl.R., (1500-09), no. 522. C.F.R., (1485-09), p. 48, no. 116. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72-3.

The most important consequence of 1469 was not however internal, but political and external. The family in its decimated state had lost much of its attraction so far as Edward IV was concerned, and following his restoration in 1471 he began to look for an alternative means of governing Wales.

At first the king may have hoped that the second Earl would serve the Crown's purpose. Edward was the virtual prisoner of Warwick for some months after Edgecote and as such granted Herbert's offices in the Southern Principality to the Earl for life in August 1469.¹ However, as soon as he regained his independence, Edward regranted Herbert's entailed offices. In February 1470 Richard of Gloucester was granted the main Southern Principality offices for the duration of William Herbert's minority, while as early as November 1469 John Dwnn had been given Herbert offices in the County of Pembroke, Llanstephan, Cilgerran and Haverfordwest.² Perhaps as a sign of the royal confidence, the young Earl was included on a commission of oyer and terminer for Wales in January 1470.³ Moreover, not all of the entailed offices were granted to caretakers, and in June 1470 the Earl appears as a witness to a deed as the Steward of Usk.⁴

1. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 165/6.
2. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 175 and 185.
3. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 198.
4. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1522.

If the prospect seemed favourable for the continuation of Herbert power in 1470, it became even better in 1471. In May the Earl accompanied the king on his return to London after the battle of Tewkesbury, and in August was licensed to enter into his hereditary offices in Wales.¹ This latter event was probably associated with the commissioning of the Earl to follow-up the battle of Tewkesbury in the West, for in the same month he and Lord Ferrers were empowered to receive rebels into the king's allegiance in Wales and the Marches, and were also granted a commission of array in south Wales and the Marches to resist Jasper Tudor and one of oyer and terminer.²

By that stage, however, Edward may have realized that the young man did not have the capacity of his father, or, more probably, had decided for other reasons on an alternative means of governing the area. Despite inclusion on another commission of oyer and terminer, the Earl was little used by the government in the 1470's.³ Edward probably had a good knowledge of William's character, for the accounts of the Herbert estates give the impression at least that some of the Earl's time was spent at Court, and he certainly accompanied the king to France in August 1475.⁴

1. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 275. C.L. Scofield, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 593.
2. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 283 and 289. For a pardon issued by Pembroke and Ferrers from Carmarthen in October 1471, see: B.M. Harl. Ms., 6079, fo. 92 b.
3. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 317.
4. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 583. The accounts of the Southern Principality also suggest that not much of the Earl's time was spent there. William does not seem to have performed his office of Justiciar in person, and consequently the rewards allowed for attendance at the Great Sessions were annulled during the years 1472-75. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p.43.

Missing through typist's pagination error.

By the late 1470's Edward had clearly abandoned the idea of ruling Wales through the Earl of Pembroke, and in 1479 William was replaced in the government of South Wales by the Prince of Wales and his council. In the Parliament of 1482 it was explained that 'for the reformation of the weal public, restful governance and ministration of justice in the said parties of South Wales' and 'for the contentation and satisfaction of great and notable sums of money due by the said Earl ... unto the said Prince' it had been decided that Herbert should exchange Pembroke County and its appendant lordships for Duchy of Cornwall lands in the West Country.¹ William simultaneously exchanged his earldom for that of Huntingdon. This left Herbert holding the estates which had been accumulated in south-east Wales, largely by the efforts of his father and grandfather. These estates had been augmented, but not created, by Crown grants. On the other hand, the block of west Walian estates - almost wholly the product of lavish Crown grants - all but disappeared. It would seem that the land exchange was unfavourable to William, for he had to be granted £20 a year from the fee-farm of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire to help him maintain his estate. The payment of this makeweight does not seem to have been too rigorously enforced.²

Herbert was replaced in the Southern Principality by officials of the Prince of Wales, whose professionalism did something to revive the administration of the area, before aristocratic control was reaffirmed by the granting of the offices to Henry, Duke of Buckingham in 1483.³ The

1. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, p. 203.

2. C.Cl.R., (1476-85), no. 1087.

3. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 622, 627, 637 and 638.

younger Herbert's tenure of certain Duchy of Lancaster offices granted to his father in tail similarly seems not to have extended beyond 1478,¹ and, by July 1483, Buckingham had also succeeded the Earl in his offices in the lordship of Usk, and probably all the other Mortimer properties.²

Herbert was with Richard III at Grantham in October 1483,³ and, following Buckingham's revolt, the king attempted to replace the Duke with Huntingdon. In November 1483 William was granted the office of Chief Justice of South Wales,⁴ and the same month was commissioned to array the king's subjects in Wales to resist rebels.⁵ The change of policy was to be registered by a marriage between Katherine Plantagenet, a base daughter of Richard III, and the widowed Earl. Early in 1484 an indenture relating to the proposed match was drawn up,⁶ and in March - presumably after the marriage had taken place - an annuity of 400 marks was granted to the couple from Newport, Brecon and Hay.⁷

1. R. Somerville, op.cit., pp. 648 and 649.
2. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 813.
3. C.Cl.R., (1476-85), no. 1171.
4. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 367. Other of the family offices were similarly regranted to the Earl during Richard's reign. B.M. Harleian Ms., 433 fo.46.
5. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 370. The Herbert family seems to have been very active in its opposition to the Duke of Buckingham in the Autumn of 1483. Three members of the family were among those rewarded by Richard III with grants of annuities in November. The Earl, who headed commissions to enter the Stafford properties in Wales, was granted the castle and lordship of 'Huntingdon with its members in Wales' by Richard in March 1484. This grant obviously refers to the Stafford property of Huntingdon, not the lordship of Huntingdon in England. B.M.: Harleian Ms., 433, fo's.30, 121d and 158d. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 71. Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, Vol. I, no. 113.
6. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 71-2.
7. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 431. B.M. Harleian Ms., 433, fo.46.

A year later, William and Katherine were granted an annuity of £152 from the issues of the Southern Principality and Haverfordwest until lands of the same value should be assigned to them and their heirs.¹ Another sign of royal favour was the confirmation in May 1484 of the grant of £20 a year to Huntingdon from the fee-farm of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire dated July 1479. This grant, made by Edward IV to help the Earl maintain his estate, had clearly not been paid in whole or in part prior to the date of confirmation.² The nervous king issued two more commissions of array to the Earl, in May and December 1484.³

Huntingdon does not seem to have opposed Henry of Richmond in 1485, and received a pardon in September 1486 as William, Earl of Huntingdon ... late chamberlain in South Wales, alias the late chamberlain of Edward, late Prince of Wales for all sums and reckonings due from him for the period prior to the commencement of the reign.⁴ From this reference, it would seem that office in the household of Richard's son, Edward, Prince of Wales, had been another of the benefits granted to the Earl by his father in law. Herbert had gone to the trouble of having his patent as Earl of Huntingdon confirmed by Richard, and he secured a similar confirmation from Henry in May 1488.⁵

1. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 538. For other grants of land and annuities made to the Earl during Richard's reign - some at least of which may have been connected with the marriage settlement - see: B.M.: Harleian Ms., 423, fo's. 175d and 282d.
2. C.Cl.R., (1476-85), no. 1087.
3. C.P.R., (1476-85), pp. 401 and 491.
4. C.P.R., (1485-94), p. 141.
5. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 431. C.P.R., (1485-94), p. 237.

The new reign also brought certain losses to the Earl. As early as Edward IV's reign there had been signs of a softening of the Crown's attitude so far as the Lutterells were concerned, and under Henry VII that family was fully restored and the barony of Dunster lost to the Herberts.¹

Huntindon did not long survive Henry's accession; dying before July 1490.² He left as his heiress a daughter, Elizabeth, who in 1492 married Charles Somerset, an illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset.³ Although Elizabeth and Somerset did not manage to obtain the whole of her inheritance in 1492, this had probably been achieved by the beginning of the next reign. The Somerset marriage thus completed the process - begun in the 1470's⁴ - by which the first Earl's Welsh and Marcher estates were lost to the family.⁵

1. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, Dunster and its Lords, 1066-1881, 1882, pp. 62-3. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, pp. 297-8.
2. C.F.R., (1485-09), p. 119.
3. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. XII, Part II, p. 850. Somerset was a favourite of Henry VII's: his marriage was apparently solemnised in the king's presence and was probably done with his encouragement. Elizabeth died between 1509 and 1513.
4. The grant of the Duchy of Lancaster lordship of Caldicot was resumed by the Crown under the terms of the Parliamentary act of 1473. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 242.
5. To be precise the estates were not lost until Elizabeth's death. While the Earl of Huntingdon had no legitimate heirs apart from Elizabeth, there were many surviving male descendants of his father and grand-father in the late 15th century. Many of these men had devoted themselves to the advancement of the family in general, and the Earls of Pembroke in particular, and may well have felt aggrieved when the title of Lord Herbert and most of the family lands passed through an heiress to Somerset. Certainly, there was friction between Elizabeth and her uncle, Sir Walter, who retained Raglan until his death. Perhaps to a greater extent than many other late-medieval families, the Herberts had functioned - and may well have regarded themselves - as a clan, rather than as a number of related, but discrete, individuals.

Of Huntingdon's character we know very little. That he lacked capacity, or application, is perhaps indicated by his father's will and the Crown's attitude towards him. The Earl's incapacity is however far from proven. His debts to the Prince of Wales turn out to be technical ones; although the fact that Edward IV used them against Herbert may be evidence of his pliability. The Crown's attitude towards the abler members of the Herbert family and Lord Ferrers in the 1470's suggests moreover that Edward had decided in principle to abandon the government of Wales through lieutenants. The removal of the first Earl, a man of strong personality with claims on the king's continuing favour, cleared the way for the new policy; but it did not make it necessary. Even if the second Earl was a nonentity, Edward could have transferred effective power to an abler Herbert or Vaughan, or have used Lord Ferrers, who had already proved his ability alongside the first Earl. The fact that he did not take any of these courses suggests that Edward had doubts about this mode of governance; rather than about the instrument to be chosen to implement it.

second * * * *

William Herbert's/son, Walter, appears to have been rather more like his father than his brother. His career was largely that of an administrator; in fact, he was the member of the first Earl's family on whom much of the actual working of the Herbert estates seems to have devolved. The lordship of Cilgerran was farmed to him from Easter 1476, and he was paid a fee as the Steward of that lordship on the account for 1475/6.¹ The farming of

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

Cilgerran must have been one of the first actions of the second Earl on entering his lands in 1475, and perhaps represents a reward of sorts to his brother for his past services. By 1476 Walter was also serving as the Steward of Raglan.¹ He was feed as the Steward of the Herbert properties at Caldicot and Magor in the early 1480's,² and also appears on the Crickhowell accounts in this capacity between 1477-8 and 1480-1.³ Several years later, he appears as the Steward of Gower and Swansea.⁴ It is thus clear from the accounts that the late 1470's and 1480's were years in which Sir Walter was heavily involved in the administration of his brother's and mother's estates.

But Sir Walter's talents were by no means the exclusive property of his family. He served as Steward of Usk from 1487 until June 1507; that is, until his death.⁵ By May 1488 he had secured the same office in the lordship of Abergavenny, then in the hands of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, and a year later was acting as the Steward of the royal lordship of Trelleck.⁶ In February 1496 Sir Walter returned to familiar ground to act as the Duchy of Lancaster Steward of Caldicot and Magor.⁷ He also held relatively

1. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 587.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.

4. G.T. Clark, op.cit., Vol. V, p. 1738.

5. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1543, 988, 1046, 1525, 978, 694, 695, 1047, 569, 589, 1048 and 1560. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 80.

6. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1601. Newport Record Office, Misc. Ms., 318. The extent to which Sir Walter dominated the administration of Abergavenny is revealed in a valor for that lordship dated 1498-9. Sir Walter was currently the Steward, Bedell and Master-Sergeant, and had served as the Receiver in 1496-7. Other current officers included William and Richard Herbert. Westminster Abbey Muniments, 4087.

7. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 654.

minor office in the Southern Principality - as Constable of Caio and Malleau - from 1478 until 1481.¹ In May 1486 Sir Walter was granted the offices of Steward and Constable of Cantreselly, and Steward of Talgarth during pleasure; the following January he also gained the office of Receiver at Cantreselly.² He was the Sheriff of Glamorgan and Morgannwg in the period before the lordship was granted to the Duke of Bedford in the first year of Henry VII's reign.³

Sir Walter's public career appears to have been virtually non-existent before Henry's accession. He was created a Knight of the Bath with the Princes Edward and Richard in 1475, and was made a banneret in 1482, when he was serving with the Duke of Gloucester in Scotland. Apart from these instances however, Sir Walter is not noticed in the public records until Henry's reign.⁴

For much of the reign, Sir Walter was clearly the object of royal favour. Apart from the grants of office noted above, he was created a knight of the body,⁵ and entertained queen Elizabeth at Raglan in 1502.⁶ The evidence concerning his actions when Henry invaded Wales is inconclusive; but it is

1. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 643.
2. C.P.R., (1485-94), pp. 88 and 153.
3. J.H. Matthews, Cardiff Records, Cardiff 1898-1911, Vol. V, p. 536 (and) Vol. 1, p. 172.
4. W.C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights, London 1885, pp. 4 and 6.
5. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 347.
6. A.J. Taylor, op.cit., p. 13.

probable that he joined Henry with Rhys ap Thomas as Richmond's force neared Shrewsbury. Even if Sir Walter did not join Henry, his neutrality was of great value: Polydore Vergil makes it clear that he was a power to be reckoned with in Wales.¹ It was to win Walter to his side that Henry had toyed with the idea of a marriage with one of the Earl of Pembroke's sisters, and Richard III's initial confidence seems to have been largely based on the fact that Wales was guarded by Rhys and Sir Walter.² Conversely, Henry's forces were quite dismayed when they heard at Cardigan that Walter had gathered an army to oppose them. The report was false; but Henry and his men were thereafter anxiously aware that Herbert and Rhys were shadowing them across Wales. Sir Walter was thus one of those whose adherence, or neutrality, was vital to the success of Henry's venture, and this fact is reflected in the favour shown to Sir Walter early in the reign.³

Perhaps the king's favour was most evident in the way in which Sir Walter was allowed to hold on to an important part of Elizabeth Herbert's inheritance.⁴ The suit had progressed as far as arbitration by September 1491, when Sir Walter/bound in £100 to pay the king monies received by royal licence from Huntingdon's lands, and especially those sums assigned to Walter by the arbitrators.⁵ Final agreement was not however reached until 1505.

1. Sir Walter's contribution to Henry Tudor's success is perhaps to be compared with the Percy Earl of Northumberland's conduct in 1471, which was probably crucial in determining the success of Edward the Fourth's return to his kingdom.
2. Sir Walter had shared in the family's good fortune under Richard III following the fall of Buckingham; having been granted properties in Bedfordshire and Surrey worth nearly €44 a year, for which he owed the king a rent of £1-15s. B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo. 289.
3. Sir H. Ellis, Polydore Vergil's English History, Camden Society 1844, pp. 215-19.
4. As the chief overseer of his brother's will he was well-placed to manipulate his neice's inheritance; 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 74.
5. C.Cl.R., (1485-1500), p. 180 (No. 617). Huntingdon's lands certainly seem to have passed through Henry's hands: they were, for instance, in the royal hands between Michaelmas 1502 and Michaelmas 1504. P.R.O. Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt; Miscellaneous Books, E. 36/213, fo's 49-50.

Sir Walter was to release his rights in the lands of the late Earl, whereupon Somerset and Elizabeth would grant Chepstow and Tidenham to Sir Walter for life. In addition, Raglan, Dingestow, Penrhos, Miles court and Redwyke were to be granted to Walter, his wife, Anne, and Walter's mail heirs. In both cases the reversion was to Somerset and Elizabeth.¹ When Sir Walter died in 1507, the Raglan issues were granted to Anne by the king 'out of affection to his kinswoman'.² It would seem that with Sir Walter dead and his own position rather more secure than at the beginning of his reign, Henry could afford to be less generous to the Herberts: the king, for all his affection, made Anne pay heavily for her dower; Edmund Dudley thought too heavily.³

Tudor government -especially as it applied to Wales and the Marches - was to a great extent government by recognizance, and there are a number of bonds on the Close Rolls relating to Sir Walter. Most of these are very ordinary. For instance, in 1486 Sir Walter and others, as tenants of Usk, were bound in £500 to pay mises at the accustomed rates. But not all the bonds were of this everyday type. In July 1494 Sir Walter was bound in £200 to make no unlawful gatherings before Christmas and not to assault Sir Morgan ap John, while in May 1505 he was placed under a penalty to keep the peace

1. C.Cl.R., (1500-09), p. 196 (No.509).
2. C.P.R. (1485-1509), p. 390. C.P.R. (1494-1509), p. 601. The relationship being claimed by the king was the result of Margaret Beaufort's third marriage with a member of the Stafford family.
3. Raglan reverted to Elizabeth on Anne's re-marriage to George, Lord Hastings. Sir Walter had married Anne Stafford, the sister of the third Duke of Buckingham, about 1494. According to Dudley, she paid £1,000 'for her jointure, which was very hard'. Stafford Record Office. Plas Newydd Papers, the petition of Edmund Dudley. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. C.J. Harrison.

in respect of certain persons. We cannot tell how far Sir Walter was any more disorderly than other gentlemen of the Marches; but on the whole the evidence does not seem very damning.¹

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Certain of the Earl of Huntingdon's relations appear not to have reconciled themselves easily to Edward IV's neglect of the family during the 1470's. In February 1474 commissions of array were issued to enable Earl Rivers to arrest William Herbert, clerk, John Herbert, bastard, Thomas Herbert, bastard, and two sons of Roger Vaughan of Tretower, who had refused to obey a royal summons to answer for their offences in Wales and the Marches, and were reported to be stirring up insurrection.² Then in 1478 William Herbert of Pembroke was pardoned at the queen's request for disobeying a summons before the king and council: he appears to have got into trouble by illegally fortifying Pembroke Castle. Finally, in 1479, a commission of oyer and terminer was issued in connexion with the offences of John Herbert, alias John Bastard.³

1. C.Cl.R., (1485-1500), p. 36 (No. 129), p. 313 (No. 1060), p. 310 (no. 1049).
C.Cl.R., (1500-09), p. 132 (No. 377), p. 177 (No. 453).
2. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 429.
3. C.P.R., (1476-85), pp. 128 and 182. This John Herbert was possibly the bastard son mentioned in the first Earl's will. He may have accompanied his father into South Wales in the 1460's, for a John Herbert appears as a Principality debtor on a record drawn up in 1478. He was possibly brought to book for his activities of the 1470's, for a Monmouth account of 1479 reveals that Thomas and John Herbert, bastards, still owed their 1474-5 farm at White Castle, but that John was dead and Thomas in prison at Ludlow. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1210/6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts., 29/597/9564. P.R.O. Privy Seal Office: Warrants for Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2359 B & C, 2384 and 2386.

The identities of 'William Herbert, clerk' and 'William Herbert of Pembroke' can only be guessed at. In his will the first Earl left his eldest base son, William, a tenement and lands worth £10 a year in Penrhos and Clytha: he also directed that this son was to be a priest and was to be granted certain churches.¹ By 1480-1 the Earl of Huntingdon had granted lands at Tal-y-fan worth nearly £10 a year to^a William Herbert and his heirs.² Moreover, in January 1485 - but apparently not for the first time - the Earl granted William Herbert, esquire, the manors of Troy and Wonastow, late of Thomas Herbert, and when, in 1490, Sir Walter released his rights in the lands of his uncle, Thomas, to William Herbert of Troy, he called him his brother.³ It would thus seem that the first Earl had a base son, William, who might have been in minor orders in the 1470's; that he was settled on lands in the Raglan area after his father's death, and that he inherited the lands of his uncle in the 1480's - and with ^{them} the style of 'William Herbert of Troy'.

It was certainly William of Troy who, as William Herbert, esquire, monopolised the most important offices and farms of the Earl's western estates in the 1470's, and got into trouble with the government in 1478.

1. Cardiff Central Library, Ms. 5:7 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589 and 1590.
3. In 1480 the Earl of Huntingdon had granted William 'lately of Pembroke in County Pembroke, esquire', lands in Troy, Wonastow 'Wilston' and St. Maughans in Wales and all the lands that a number of feoffees had held in Abergavenny lordship. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 76 and 80. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 798 and 347.

In 1475-6 he was Treasurer and Steward of County Pembroke; Receiver and Steward of Castle Walwyn and Carew, and Receiver of Cilgerran.¹ In September 1476 the Earl formally appointed his brother, William Herbert, the elder, as Steward, Treasurer and Chancellor of County Pembroke for life. That the Earl was not referring to another brother of this name is almost certain, for in the grant of 1480 relating to Troy William was described as 'lately of Pembroke'.² The William Herbert who was receiving an annuity of £20 in the late 1470's and early 1480's from estates in the Raglan area is to be identified with this important official.³

From the specific references we have to William Herbert of Troy, it is clear that he was an ally of Sir Walter Herbert's and a person of considerable ability. In May 1489 he acted as Sir Walter's deputy as Steward of Trelleck, and he may have been the William Herbert, esquire, who served as the deputy Steward of Usk from 1487 and had advanced to the positions of Receiver and Improver of that lordship by 1491.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. William's service in west Wales clearly pre-dated 1475-6. In 1472-3 a letter from the Prince of Wales' council was carried from Carmarthen to Pembroke for delivery to William Herbert, which may also argue in favour of his involvement in the affairs of the Southern Principality. Ministers Accounts; S.C.6. 1225/3.
2. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 76 and 77.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1591. The annuitant is referred to on one occasion as 'William the elder': he clearly had a hand in the administration of Raglan, and in 1481-2 was allowed his expenses while at the Castle with John Vaughan, the Improver, on a supervisory visit.
4. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1601, 1543, 988, 1046, 1525, 978, 1047, 1486, 589 and 1487. William Herbert was still the Usk and Caerleon Receiver in 1504. P.R.O. Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt; Miscellaneous Books, E.36/213, fo's. 45/6.

He also had an active and long career in the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Steward of Ebboth in 1492, he leased the Grosmont demesne and acted as Receiver there in 1499, and in 1503 became the Receiver of a number of Duchy properties in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and an under-Steward at Monmouth. Sergeant of Monmouth and the Three Castles in the mid-1480's, he was appointed Master-Sergeant of Monmouth in 1509.¹

His tenure of important Crown offices in the area influenced the policy of the local ecclesiastical corporations. The Prioress of Usk granted the Stewardship of the Priory's lands to Sir William and his sons, Charles and Thomas, for their lives in 1517-18; the Abbot of Tintern had made a similar grant to Sir William and Charles in 1514, and the Prior of Monmouth committed his lands in Monmouth and the Three Castles to Herbert in 1517-18.²

William of Troy's relations with the government are not very evident before Henry VII's reign. This is probably in part due to the fact that the family was in low favour in the final years of Edward IV and also because he did not receive his distinctive style - 'of Troy' - until the mid 1480's.³

1. R. Somerville, op.cit., pp. 648, 638 and 652.

2. Glanmore Williams, The Welsh Church, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1962, pp. 277 and 367-8. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 67. By the early sixteenth century the Earl of Worcester and various members of the Herbert family enjoyed a virtual monopoly of monastic offices in south Wales, although they had competition in the south-west, where Lord Ferrers was entrenched.

3. It is, for example, very probable that William shared in the revival of the family's fortunes under Richard III, but the lack of distinguishing titles makes it almost impossible to assign identities to the various William Herberts who received rewards from that king. William of Pembroke was being termed 'the elder' by 1476, and the accounts of the early 1480's for the Raglan area reveal a William Herbert 'the younger', who was almost certainly another brother of the second Earl's. Following the suppression of Buckingham's revolt, 'William Herbert of Raglan' and 'William Herbert', an esquire of the body, received grants of annuities from Usk and Monmouth; while a Gloucestershire manor and offices in the Monmouth and Trelleck areas were also granted to one or more of the contemporary William Herberts during the reign. Cardiff Central Library, Ms.5:7, 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 77. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589, 1590 and 1591. B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo's 30, 47, 68 and 283.

During Henry's reign, he was commissioned on two occasions - once as a justice for some March estates - and acted as a surety for his neighbours a number of times.¹ He served as Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1515-16, in which year he was knighted.² As a feoffee of the Earl of Huntingdon, he was closely involved in the temporary partitioning of the Herbert estates between Sir Walter and Elizabeth Somerset in the years 1500-8.³

This summary of William of Troy's career undoubtedly errs in not including references to plain 'William Herbert, esquire'. This is however necessary, for there was at least one other William of some importance. Thus, in November 1485 a William Herbert, esquire, was appointed as the Receiver and Improver of Monmouth during pleasure. That this could not be William of Troy is proved by the fact that the latter was one of his sureties, along with Sir Walter.⁴ There are many references to William Herberts on the accounts and the public records, but there is little to relate one piece of evidence to another. It seems safe however to assume that William of Troy was probably the most important of the numerous individuals who shared his name.

1. C.Cl.R., (1485-1500), No. 129, No. 1064. C.P.R., (1494-1509), pp. 288 and 592. C.Cl.R., (1500-09), No. 453.
2. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 648.
3. C.Cl.R., (1500-09), No. 522, No. 496, No. 509 and No. 860. 'William Herbert the elder' was among those to whom the Earl committed his Welsh and Marcher properties in 1484. Huntingdon, in his will of the preceding year, had directed that 'William Herbert' be paid £5 as one of his executors. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72-4.
4. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 651. Newport Record Office, Newport 5103, 5048, 5044 and 5842. This William also appears to have been knighted by 1518. Sir William of Coldbrook, the eldest son of Sir Richard, would be a possibility; except for the fact that he appears as a knight before 1504. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 102.

Although the career of William Herbert of Troy is problematical in its details, it appears to have been typical in its general pattern. This pattern reflects the political fortunes of the Herbert family in the final three decades of the 15th century. A period of high activity and considerable reward had come to an end by the early 1470's. The 1470's and early '80's were a period of neglect by, and possibly of bad or precarious relations with, the Edwardian government. This situation was probably the result of the development of an alternative means of governing Wales by Edward IV; that is, the investment of the Prince of Wales and his council with considerable powers and responsibilities, and the use of Gloucester as a Marcher lord and royal caretaker in Wales. Richard of Gloucester's coup in 1483 caused a further deterioration in the Herberts' position, with the revival of Stafford power on an unparalleled scale. After Buckingham's revolt, Richard attempted to re-instate the Herberts to some extent, although significantly within the context of conciliar government. The behaviour of Sir Walter in 1485 secured the family a measure of favour under the first Tudor, this being registered by the use of the more able members of the family as governmental agents, by the bestowal of honours, (including those signifying intimacy with the sovereign), and by the temporary modification of the rules governing the descent of property.

Nevertheless, the power of the Herberts was never again that of the 1460's. Henry VII's attitude seems to have been favourable, but still cautious. His policy towards the family is perhaps most clearly revealed in the marriage of its heiress to one of his devoted followers, Charles Somerset, which seems to have been done with his encouragement. This marriage signified the return of the Herberts - albeit temporarily - to the ranks of the gentry from which they sprang.

PART II : THE HERBERT ESTATES

General Introduction

This study of the estates held by William Herbert (c.1423-1469), Earl of Pembroke, and his son, William (c.1455-1490), Earl of Pembroke and later Earl of Huntingdon, is based upon the manorial records in the Badminton collection in the National Library of Wales.¹ At first sight, these records seem admirably suited to a study of the economic state and development of a number of Welsh and Marcher lordships in the later medieval period. Estate records exist from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. So far as the fifteenth century is concerned, they are concentrated in the period 1430-82. There are unfortunately no significant groups of such records after 1482 until the later part of Henry VIII's reign. By this date however, the majority of the estates amassed by the first Earl and his father had passed out of the Herbert family.

The fifteenth-century manorial records in the collection consist mainly of account rolls, although there are also a few ancillary estate documents, such as rentals and statements of arrears extracted from ministers' accounts. The majority of the accounts were rendered by local officials, although some of them include the accounts of local receivers. There are however a few accounts from central financial officials. Three Receiver-General's accounts for the mid-1460's exist, as well as some accounts rendered by the Treasurer of Pembroke County.

1. In addition to the manorial records, the Duke of Beaufort has also deposited a large group of deeds belonging to the Somerset family.

The bulk of the accounts relate to lordships and properties which were held by the Herbert family.¹ The family's estates fall into two main groups. There were firstly those which had been accumulated around the family's seat at Raglan. These properties had been gained as a result of the purchases and favourable marriages of Sir William ap Thomas and his son, their official links with the Mortimer and Lancastrian lordships of south-east Wales undoubtedly facilitating the process of acquisition. The second group of estates was gained by royal grant and situated in south-west Wales.²

Having established the general character of the late medieval manorial records in the Badminton collection, it may be as well to examine the possible objects of a study of baronial estates, and the degree to which these objects will be qualified in this case.

1. The exceptions fall into two main groups. There are firstly accounts which have found their way into the collection because of an official connexion between a foreign lordship and one of the family. Sir William ap Thomas was the Treasurer of Pembroke in 1434-5 and this probably explains the presence of Pembroke accounts for that year. An account for the lordship of Abergavenny dated 1439-40 probably came into the family muniments as a consequence of Sir William ap Thomas's rôle as an executor of Isabel Beauchamp. There are secondly certain stray accounts in the collection, which have little direct relevance to the family's economic activities. Two accounts for the southern counties of the Principality of Wales are to be found in the collection: one for Cardiganshire dated 1445-6 and the other for Carmarthenshire during the year 1454-5. Since the family had no official connexions with the Principality in those years, these accounts would seem to be either records which were seized by Sir William Herbert and Sir Walter Devereux during their raid into the Principality in 1456, or records which were in use at a later date when Herbert was officially connected with the Principality and which were never returned to their original depositories.
2. The neatness of this pattern of eastern estates acquired by piecemeal purchases and western properties gained by Crown grant is qualified by the royal grant of the confiscated Lutterell estates. The properties - which collectively formed the barony of Dunster - gave the family interests in Somerset and Devon, and added considerably to the south-eastern bloc of estates.

by the materials available. The studies of the estates of peers which have appeared so far have had broadly similar aims. They have been concerned with the economic fate of the lord's estates over periods of time; especially insofar as this affected the seigniorial income from land. This concern with income has been combined with an interest in the level of expenditure, and more especially in the nature of that expenditure. A closely related object of investigation has been the level of indebtedness. These approaches to the study of estate materials have perhaps been the consequence of a greater interest in the peer as a political figure than as a landlord.¹ As well as the politico-economic approach, somewhat more traditional lines of investigation have continued to be pursued. The administration and organization of baronial estates have been investigated; as have the ways in which specific estate complexes were created, maintained and dispersed. The results of these studies have been far from uniform in so far as the economic fate of the greatest tenants of the fifteenth century

1. Historians have looked to the incomes of the peerage to provide evidence - albeit questionable evidence - of relative status and potential power to influence events. Similarly, the state of a peer's finances has been held to be an important factor in his relations with his peers, his subordinates and his king. However dubious this proposition may seem when applied to the early- and mid-fifteenth century, the debts of the great - and of the not-so-great - had become a means of government by the end of the century. (The extent to which the debts were imposed upon the peer - rather than accumulated by him - is not however so clear). Aristocratic expenditure has been resorted to for the information it might provide about the lord's capacity to influence events, both national and local, through his retainers.

is concerned.¹ Generally, the studies have emphasized the importance

1. The Percy estates investigated by Dr. Bean lay mainly in Sussex and the North of England. He concluded that there was a serious decline in the value of the manorial sources of income in the first half of the fifteenth century: 'had the number of manors in the possession of the Earls not increased, the Percy estates would by 1461 have lost about a quarter of their value in 1416'. By contrast, the second half of the century was a period of stability, even of advancement, in this respect. Similarly, the charges on the income were heaviest in the earlier period; but appear to have been cut back in the later part of the century. Dr. Rosenthal in his study of the estates of Richard, Duke of York, gave a rather more optimistic picture. He concluded that the value of York's lands may have been declining; but only at a slow rate. So far as expenditure was concerned however, Dr. Rosenthal believed that the local revenues were under heavy pressure in the 1440's and 1450's. Estates in close proximity to one another could have very different fortunes as Dr. Pollard's survey of the Talbot properties in Shropshire makes clear. In the late fourteenth century the Blackmere revenues - especially those derived from rents and demesne leases - seem to have been expanding. This expansion, albeit qualified by indications of depression so far as the tolls and certain other items were concerned, was halted by the Welsh invasion of 1404. Complete recovery was not effected until the sixteenth century; although the rent charge began to grow again from about 1450. Expenditure in the lordship rose sharply as a result of the repairs needed after the raid, and the earlier rate was not regained until the end of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the revenues of Marbury (Cheshire) and Lyneal were very stable throughout the fifteenth century. Evidence from Newport (Monmouthshire) - a Stafford property - suggests a severe contraction during the course of the century. Declining revenues antedated Glyndwr's Rebellion; but that event greatly aggravated the effects of the depression. The attempt by successive administrations to cushion these effects by a vigorous exploitation of the dues peculiar to Welsh lordships, and especially by the practice of dissolving the great sessions held to hear the most serious offences in return for a communal fine, was generally less and less efficacious as the century wore on. In the Southern Principality a dwindling income from largely-fixed sources of revenue, as well as drives to realize greater proportions of the potential income and to limit expenditure. What successes there were had often to be paid for by concessions affecting future income levels. The contraction was moreover clearly a political and administrative phenomenon, as well as an economic effect. J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family, Oxford 1958. J. Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-60)' (in) Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, Vol. II, Ed. W. Bowsky. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', Bristol University, Ph.D. thesis, 1968. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, Univ. of Wales Press 1963. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales 1422-85', Bristol University, Ph.D. thesis, 1962.

caused repeated attempts to expand the extra-ordinary sources of revenue.

of political and personality factors so far as economic fortunes are concerned. Beyond that they have shown that there was a considerable diversity of local economic conditions; and responses to those conditions. In short, the studies have emphasized the need for further investigations of particular estates. However, they have also given rise to considerable doubts about the techniques used in such studies.

These criticisms have been of two main kinds. There has firstly been criticism of the validity of the results of studies based upon insufficient materials. Materials are often insufficient in the sense that only scattered documents exist for a long period of time or a wide geographical area.¹ Another type of insufficiency relates to the kind of document which has survived. If, for instance, only ministers' accounts survive of the full range of estate documents - valors; rentals; surveys; arrears accounts; ministers' accounts; receivers' accounts; and estate registers - the scale of the generalizations derived from them must be more restricted than if the accounts had been well-supplemented. The second line of attack has been more precisely linked to the use made of specific documents. The warnings about the introduction of concepts of profitability into the treatment of ministers' accounts are well-known: the account was primarily a device for fixing the accountant's liability for charges which had

1. C.D. Ross criticized the study of the Duke of York's estates on the grounds that the surviving accounts were too few and scattered to justify the conclusions of stability; especially so far as the Welsh estates were concerned. The virtual absence of Welsh ministers' accounts for the middle decades of the century makes the concept of the typical year difficult to accept. C.D. Ross, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York' (review article), (in) Welsh History Review, June 1967.

been assessed and recorded in other documents - notably the rental and supplementary bills.¹ The concept of the clear yield has moreover been the subject of considerable controversy. The liveries of money to the central officials have been taken as an approximation of clear yield by some historians.² But the value of liveries could vary considerably from year to year, and, more importantly, usually included arrears sums. Moreover, the liveries represent a minimum yield, for before cash was paid in, fixed and irregular payments had often been made, and many of these were items of expenditure rather than running costs. Most of the criticisms emphasize the importance of arrears as a guide to the efficiency of a property's administration. This importance is enhanced in the case of the Welsh estates, where the important extra-ordinary charges were, in many cases, payable over a period of several years, and where consequently the collection of the revenues became that much more complicated and a surer test of the administration's efficiency.³

1. The account is 'essentially a statement of the receipts and expenses of the accountant and not of the manor'. D. Oschinsky, 'Medieval Treatises on Estate Accounting', (in) Economic History Review, 1947, p. 52.
2. R.R. Davies questioned the validity of this criterion. In the case of the Stafford and Mortimer estates the valors give figures of potential yield, which are considerably higher than the actual liveries. The difference between the two sets of figures - the arrears sum - was often collectable in the long run, and the potential yield in these cases is thus a surer guide to the annual value of an estate than the liveries of a single year. It is 'misleading to assume that liveries to central officials by the time of the audit necessarily represent the total clear yield of a particular year'. R.R. Davies, 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages', (in) Economic History Review, 1968, p. 228.
3. 'The collection of arrears is one of the very few measuring rods we have of the efficiency of baronial administration. Arrears had always been a particularly intractable problem in the marcher lordships of Wales.' Ibid., p. 229.

These criticisms are particularly relevant so far as the materials available for a study of William Herbert's estates are concerned. On the whole, the quantity of records which survive is not sufficient for a dynamic study of the estates to be undertaken. In the case of Raglan however, although the evidence is thin, it is perhaps sufficient to allow us to draw some conclusions about that lordship's development. In addition to the ministers' accounts,¹ we possess three rentals for the manor—two from the mid-fourteenth century, and one from the 1430's. The lordship of ~~Crickwell~~ Crickwell (Breconshire) is also comparatively well-documented, with nine accounts for the period 1430 to 1478. In this case there is also a certain amount of supplementary information to be derived from the surveys of the lordship made in Elizabeth's reign for the Somerset family. The third estate which deserves mention as relatively well-documented is Wyesham-Monmouth. Ten accounts exist for this accounting unit; dating from 1453 to 1483. At the other extreme there are a number of estates for which only single accounts exist. Only three accounts exist for the lordship of Dunster (dated 1461-2, 1465-6 and 1478-9), and these three differ in the members covered! Generally, the accounts of south-west Wales are considerably less numerous than those of the Monmouthshire estates.

1. The Raglan accounts are dated 1397-8, 1452-3, 1461-2, 1462-3 and 1463-4. There are also three accounts for Raglan and Mathenny for the period 1479-82, and a receiver's account for 1481-2.

The number of accounts thus makes virtually impossible any dynamic study of the lordships during the fifteenth century; with the possible exception of Raglan. The information contained in the accounts may however be used in other ways. Instead of concentrating upon the income Herbert drew from his estates over a period, we can examine a little closer the very diverse sources from which he drew that income. An examination of the main types of lordship by reference to the charge information of the accounts may be useful on a number of scores. The questions asked of the material will be primarily economic, rather than political, ones. Secondly, a closer view of the differences between properties might help us to a better understanding of the areas to which the fifteenth-century landlord could look for an improvement of his revenues, and partly account for the diversity of responses already discovered on other complexes of estates. In some cases, it will also be possible to use the evidence relating to decay to indicate those areas of the charge which were becoming less important.¹ Similarly, we can use the discharge information to investigate not changes in the levels of local expenditure, but the different kinds of discharge on the Herbert estates.

After an examination of the main kinds of estates held by the family, we can turn to the question of efficiency. William Herbert's exploits

1. This perspective can be given, for example, in cases where the decayed charge was respited and where we are given information about past years.

outside his own estates have led several historians to conclude that he was efficient to the point of ruthlessness.¹ Yet the very nature of these examples - they often seem to have been feats of political skill and force rather than of administration - makes even more necessary a study of Herbert on his home ground. How successful was he when the possibilities of short-term gains were tempered by the need to consider longer-term advantages? As the information available does not enable us to compare the revenues raised from particular estates - or from the total complex of estates - on a year-to-year basis, one of the indices of success and efficiency is lost to us. However, the importance of arrears as a test of administrative efficiency has already been emphasized, and it is, above all, to this information that we shall look for evidences of administrative success, or failure. Like the decay information, the details relating to arrears offer a perspective over past years, so that, for example, the fate of a particular year's charge can often be traced over a number of years for which the accounts have disappeared. A second kind of information is also available to us in this respect. Some of the accounts still bear the supplementary bills which, in their lack of formality, sometimes give us insights into the running of the estates; and even into the rôle or attitude of the lord. These evidences, as well as the vaguer indications of administrative action which can be deduced from the accounts, can probably be made too much of; and these often-showy items must take second place to the evidence deduced from the arrears information.

1. Herbert's reputation rests upon his work in the Principality of South Wales; in the Stafford lordship of Newport, and the Talbot lordship of Goodrich. This work is discussed below in greater detail. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', Chapter X. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 171-2 and 179-180. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot'.

The attempt to judge the efficiency with which the estates were run will be followed by a review of how they were run. A description of the grouping of the various estates, of the character of the official hierarchy and its main functions will be the object of this part of the study. Where we possess accounts for an estate from before the period of Herbert rule, we may be able - by comparing the administrative structure at different points in time - to get some idea of the administrative impact of William Herbert on the organizations he inherited from previous tenants. The administrative review will be completed by a look at the personnel of the Herbert estates.

The Badminton collection contains three Receiver-General's accounts for the mid-1460's. These to some extent make up for the deficiencies of the collection. Coming from the period of Herbert's greatest power, when most of the large Crown grants had been in his hands for a few years, these accounts will allow us to suggest the magnitude of the Earl's income a year or two before his death.

As was suggested above, the lordship of Raglan affords us our only real opportunity for a dynamic study of a particular estate. Even so, the conclusions will have to be fairly impressionistic so far as the period from the mid fourteenth century to the 1450's is concerned. Nevertheless, a study of this kind seems particularly worthwhile in this case. What was the effect of the rise of the Herbert family - at first steady and then meteoric - on the manor which Sir William ap Thomas purchased from the Berkeleys as his seat? At the time of the purchase, the lordship may have seemed destined to be merely the impressive seat of a younger son of a Welsh squire who had advanced himself by service as

an official of the largely non-resident, English aristocracy - and by a fortunate marriage. The ruins of the fine castle largely built by Sir William and his son are visible evidence of the rise of the manor's pretensions, along with those of its owners. But did the character of the manor change, and if so in what ways? An attempt will be made to answer these questions in the last part of this study of the estates of William Herbert.

Chapter II: The sources of income

THE HERBERT ESTATES

Table I

The sources of income:

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence agric. activity
1. SOUTH-EASTERN ESTATES									
RAGLAN ¹ (Bailliff's)	£31-32	1479/80 1480/81 1481/82	X	-	X	X	-	-	X
RAGLAN (Receiver's)	£34-49	1452-53 1461-64	X	-	X	X	-	-	X
RAGLAN & MATHENNY	£16-28	1479-80 1480-81 1481-82	X	-	-	-	X	-	X
MATHENNY	£9-10	1479-80 1480-81 1481-82	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
LLANTILIO CROSSENNY	£18-23	1463/4:68/9 1477/8:82/3	X	-	X	-	X	-	X

1. Raglan. The account of the Receiver of the 1450's and 1460's is, in many respects, very similar to that of the Raglan bailiff of the late 1470's, and has been included for that reason

The sources of income (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
PENRHOS/BETTWS	£15-28	1463/4:68/9 1479/80:80/1 1481/2	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
BRYNGWYN	£4.10s.	1463/4	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
WYESHAM/MONMOUTH	£53-75	53/4:54/5 57/8:61-3 64/5:66/7 69/70:77/8 : 82/3	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
WONASTOW	£21-23	1479/80 1480/81 1481/2	X	-	-	-	-	-	X
TRELLECK	£18.8s.	1479/80 1480/81 1481/2	X	-	-	-	-	-	-

The sources of income (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
DINGESTOW Incl. TAL-Y-FAN PEN-Y-CLAWDDE	£25-6s.	1463/4 1479/80 1480/81 1481/82	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
LLANVAIR MYBON OWEN	£15	1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
USK PARISH	£2.10s- 6.3s.	1463/4 1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
MAINDIFFI	£19-24	1462-4 1468/9 1479-82	X	-	X	-	X	-	-
ABERYSTRUTH	£1.19s.	1463/4 1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
LLANDDEWI RHYDDERCH	£5.1s.	1463/4	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
GOYTRE & LLANOVER	£3- 7.18s.	1463/4 1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-

The sources of income (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
CRICKHOWELL (Brecon) ²	£88-134	1430/1:1445/6 1446/7:1447/8 1479/80:1480/1 1477/8	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
CHEPSTOW ³ Incl. Berton Tidenham (Glos.)	£156-197	1477/8 1482/3	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
LAGHARNE	£45.10s.	1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAERLEON	£6	1463/4 1468/9	X	-	-	-	-	-	-

2. Crickhowell The Crickhowell Receiver was charged with a tallage of recognition worth £46 in 1477-8; collectable in Crickhowell and the neighbouring lordship of Tretower. When augmented by its share of the tallage, Crickhowell's annual charge was probably worth about £33 more than the figures shown.
3. Chepstow The Receiver's account contains independent charges in both years: in the earlier one, the mill farm and the tallage for the dissolution of the sessions, and in 1482-3 the customs farm. Chepstow's total charge in the earlier year was worth about £44 more than the figure calculated from the local officials' accounts; that is, about £200.

The sources of income (ctd):

Property	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
LEBENYTH	£50	1477/8 1482/3	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
MOYNES COURT	£12.6s.	1477/8	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
KILPECK (Herefs.)	£53	1482/3	X	-	X	-	-	X	-
NEWPORT (Monms.) ⁴	£340	1465/6	X	X	X	X	-	-	X?
STRADEWY (Brec.)	£14	1456/7	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
TRETOWER/STRADEWY ⁵ (Brecon)	£48.19s	1482/3	X	X	X	X	X	-	-
MAGOR	£111	1482/3	X	-	X	-	-	-	-

4. Information from the 1465-6 account held at Newport Record Office: Ms. B/90/004. The Newport Receiver was charged with £270 over and above the sums received from local officials: the constituent sums represented installments of tallages granted to Herbert.

5. Stradewy/Tretower The Tretower Receiver had one independent charge; namely, the court perquisites worth £14. His account was for two years, so it is difficult to estimate how much the annual charge would have been augmented by the perquisites (which were anyway a source of income liable to considerable fluctuation from year to year). The safest course is to suggest an annual charge of between £49 and £63.

The sources of income (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
WELLINGTON (Heref.)	£25	1477/8	X	-	X	-	-	-	X?
YAZOR (Heref.)	£6.12s.	1477/8 1482/3	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
CALDICOT	£54	1482/3	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
NEWTON	£25	1482/3	X	-	X	-	-	-	-

The sources of income:(ctd.):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
2. SOUTH-WESTERN ESTATES:									
PEMBROKE COUNTY ⁶									
& ITS MEMBERS:									
PEMBROKE TOWN, MILLS AND BURTON FERRY	£31- 43	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
CASTLEMARTIN	£113- 117	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	-	X	-	X

6. Pembroke County. The account of the Treasurer for 1461/2 suggests that the tenantry paid sums directly to that official, in addition to the sums they paid via the local officers. Thus in 1461/2 a tallage of recognition worth £153 was charged upon 'the tenants and residents of the County'. (The Treasurer's jurisdiction, as revealed by the payment of liveries to him, comprised Pembroke town, its mills and the Burton ferry; Coytrath; Castlemartin; West and East Pembroke; Tenby; Dungleddy; Cemaes; Rhos; St Florence; Kyngeswood and Gawdon; Carew and Castle Walwyn.) The Treasurer's account of 1475/6 reveals that a tallage of recognition was again being paid at the same rate. While tallages of this particular sort did not occur very often, when they did fall due they could affect the income of a lordship for a year or two. There were moreover other subsidies which could be exacted in the interim. While we cannot value the additions to the charges of individual lordships from this source, we must at least be prepared to take the annual charge figures given as minimums.

The sources of income.(ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
ST. FLORENCE	£46	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	-	X	-	X?
COYTRATH FOREST	£20- 22	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
TENBY	£50- 60	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
EAST PEMBROKE	£13- 36	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
WEST PEMBROKE	£14- 15	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
KYNGESWOD & GAWDON	£9.12s.- 10	1434/5 1475/6	X	X	-	-	-	-	X?
DUNGLEDDY	17s.- £9	1434/5 1475/6	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
CEMAES	£10- 16	1434/5 1475/6	-	X	X	-	-	-	-

The sources of income (ctd):

Property	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits; mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
RHOS	5s-£6	1434/5	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
		1475/6							
CILGERRAN ⁷	£62-67	1434/5							
		1464/5	X	X	X	X	X	X	-
		1475/6							
LLANSTEPHAN ⁸	£74-82	1434/5							
		1464/5	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
		1474/6							

7. Cilgerran. The Receiver of 1434/5 was responsible for independent charges totalling £72: £40 was charged as a part-payment of a 'gift of the country', while the residue concerned fines for whose collection the Receiver was responsible. In 1464-5 there was one independent item; sums received from the tallage collectors worth £33 being charged. The 1475/6 Treasurer's account contains a charge of £10; a part-payment of the £40 laid on Cilgerran as a tallage of recognition. Clearly, on occasion, Cilgerran's charge rose well above the figures calculated from the accounts of its lesser officers.
8. Llanstephan. The 1434/5 account of the Receiver reveals that a gift of £40 was being discharged at the rate of £16 a year. In 1464/5 the lordship was farmed, but the tallage and fine of the sessions had been reserved at the earlier rate. In 1475/6 the farmer's charge was augmented by £26; a part-payment of the lord's tallage of recognition.

The sources of income: (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
WALWYN'S CASTLE	£73-96	1463/4 1475/6	X	X	X	X?	-	X	-
CAREW (OLD) & (NEW)	£46	1475/6 1477/8	X	-	X	-	-	-	X?
BURTON	£1.15s	1475/6 1477/8	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
WILLIAMSTON	£13.4s.	1475/6 1477/8	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
HAVERFORD ⁹	£135- 142	1456/7 1462/3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LLANDOVERY	£214	1465/6	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
SWANSEA, GOWER & KILVEY ¹⁰	£314	1448/9	X	X	X	X	-	X	X?

9. Haverford. In 1456/7 a gift of the county added £20 to the Receiver's charge. The 1462/3 Receiver had a number of independent charges, including a sum of £40 charged as part of the £80 tallage of recognition.

10. Information from the 1448/9 account held at the Public Record Office: Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531.

The sources of income (ctd):

Property	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric. profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
3. THE DUNSTER ESTATES									
DUNSTER TOWN	£19-23	1461/2 1465/6 1478/9	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
CARHAMPTON HUNDR.	£9.12s- 14	1461/2 1465/6 1478/9	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
CARHAMPTON BERTON	£104- 109	1461/2 1465/6 1478/9	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
MINEHEAD	£97	1461/2 1465/6	X	-	X	X	-	-	X?
EAST QUANTOXHEAD ¹¹	£33-36	1461/2 1465/6	X	-	X	-	-	-	X
KILTON	£30	1461/2 1465/6	X	-	X	-	-	-	X

11. Chilton Lutterell and East Quantoxhead. The Dunster Receiver's account for 1478/9 includes a charge for wood sales worth £13 in respect of these two members of the barony

The sources of income (ctd):

Property:	Annual Charge	Inform. from:	(i) Rents & farms	(ii) Communal dues	(iii) Court profits	(iv) Commercial dues	(v) Agric profits, mill issues	(vi) Others	Evidence of agric. activity
VEXFORD (in Stogumber)	£10	1461/2 1465/6	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
IVETON (in Broomfield)	£7	1460-2 1465/6	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
RADLET (in Spaxton)	£2	1461/2 1465/6	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
CHILTON LUTTERELL ¹¹	£5-7	1461/2 1465/6 1478/9	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
BLANECOMBE	£4	1465/6 1478/9	X	-	X?	-	-	-	-
COTHELSTONE	12s.	1465/6	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
EXTON	6s.8d.	1465/6	X	-	-	-	-	-	-

11. See above p. 86.

The Herbert Estates: The Sources of Income

The object of this chapter is the investigation of the character of the estates held by William Herbert and his son by reference to the sources of income. The information for this study will be largely drawn from the charge side of local ministerial accounts. However, receiving officials set over a number of properties sometimes had charges which were additional to the liveries collected from the local ministers: the collection of communal grants to the lord was thus commonly their direct responsibility. For this reason, the local information will be supplemented from the accounts of the various receivers.

One of the disadvantages of the local account is that it does not usually give a very clear view of seigneurial activity on the demesne. The responsibility for such activity was often an itinerant official's: the local officer was involved only insofar as he received allowance for unleased demesne lands and acted as an agricultural paymaster. Thus, for evidence relating to the demesne we must look at both the charge and discharge sides of the account. We shall also be using the discharge information relating to decayed rents.

The primary aim of the chapter will be to establish and describe the sources of income, which will also involve an attempt to assess their relative importances. Then, we will attempt an examination of the extent to which the items charged were failing, and, if failure is indicated, proceed to ask which items were most affected. A related topic is that of expansion. What evidence is there of attempts to expand the income from the estates, and what means did the lord, or his administration, choose in this respect?

I Rents and farms:

A glance at the table which shows the Herbert properties and the main sources of income (Table I) will reveal that revenue drawn from tenants and farmers was a more or less universal component of the charges of the Herbert estates. What the table does not show however is the generally overwhelming importance of this category as compared with the others listed. If we take as examples one of the most valuable properties of those listed from each of the three areas in which Herbert estates were located; three of the least valuable, and three in the middle range, we will perhaps be able to get a more precise idea of the way in which the charges generally broke down. (See Table II)

Table II

The charges of nine Herbert properties:

		Ann. charge	Rents & farms	Communal dues	Court Profits	Commerc. dues	Agric. profits & mill issues	Others
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£
(Pembr.)	Haverford and members	135-142	100	[20-40] ¹	17-19	2-14	13 ²	4-10
(Monm.)	Chepstow " "	156-197	115	[40] ²	21-41	20-22	-	19 ³
(Soms.)	Carhampton Berton	104-109	102-104	-	5s.-£7	-	-	-
(Pembr.)	St. Florence	46	46	- ⁴	2s.-6s.	-	-	-
(Monm.)	Caldicot	54	44	-	9	17s.	-	-
(Soms.)	Kilton	30	30	-	3s.-15s.	-	-	-
(Pembr.)	Kyngeswood and Gawdon	10	10	- ⁴	-	-	-	-
(Monm.)	Bryngwyn	4	2	-	2	-	-	-
(Devons.)	Blanecombe	4	4	-	-	-	-	-

1. These bracketed figures represent tallages charged upon the Receiver: as such they do not contribute to the total charges shown. Other items on the Receivers' accounts have not been included because they are either insignificant, or only tenuously connected with the lordship.
2. There was no entry in this respect in the second year.
3. An £18-12s. draft is included in the 1482-3 charge: this came largely from outside the lordship, and was probably designed to help cover the year's expenditure.
4. These properties contributed to the tallages laid on Pembroke County.

These figures - for all their defects¹ - do indicate the general importance of rents and farms as a source of income. From a relatively complex lordship with several members and a varied charge like Haverford to Blanecombe, which was farmed in the two years for which we possess accounts, the income from this source was the most important part of the charge.

The category rents and farms² includes the assize and other non-communal rents paid by the tenants - free and bond; the farms paid for demesne properties (including the rights of agistment), and finally the farms of mills and the weirs associated with them. Of the three main categories - rents, demesne farms and mill leases - the former were generally the most important.

The rents charged on the account were of two main kinds. The most important were the 'assize rents'. The assize rent was the end-product of a process whereby the rents and services owed in respect

1. In the case of Bryngwyn and Caldicot the figures come from single accounts. Even so far as the remaining properties are concerned, the information is only drawn from two or three accounts, and in two cases these records were separated by many years. On the other hand, the charge information often remained fairly stable over long periods of time - especially where rents were concerned. It should also be noted that two of the lordships were complex ones which increases the number of individual cases covered. However, it must be emphasized that these figures do not claim to be - and cannot be - any more than suggestive of the proportions involved.
2. It may be more than merely useful to group the rents and farms together in this way. While the farms for demesne land were usually differentiated from the rents on the accounts, there are one or two indications that the division of the two classes of income was becoming blurred. For instance an entry on the 1482/3 Caldicot account reads: '... of the assize rents of the tenants at the will of the lord with whatsoever demesne lands rented and with the rents of presset and lez mores ...' The tenor of the item as a whole suggests a charge composed of assize rents, farms for demesne land and rents for pieces of the waste. N.L.W. Badminton, M.R. 1510.

of a tenement were consolidated into a money-rent. This consolidation was a step on the road to greater rent conformity and the simplification of the tenurial situation: it accelerated that blurring of differences of status which we associate with the break-up of manorial organization. Commutation and consolidation were however^{often} not driven to their ultimate conclusion. Certain services might be retained and commuted - or rather 'sold' - on a yearly basis to allow for those occasions on which service, rather than money, was desired by the lord. The second group of rents found on the account supplemented the basic assize rents. The assize rents owed by each tenant were listed in the rental and a total rent charge produced: this sum was used on the account as a shorthand method of referring to the many rents owed by the tenantry. New rents and rent increases built-up over a period however, and, until the rental was renewed and these additions incorporated, they appeared on the account as supplementary items. Where the date of a rent increase or new lease is given, these items provide a useful guide to the date of the basic rent information.

The type of tenant found on the estates is of importance, for different tenures and estates had different economic proceeds and different degrees of security. Although the accounts are rarely precise in these matters, they do reveal the wide diversity of tenant types on the Herbert estates.

The free tenants :

At the head of the free tenantry in terms of status we find those tenants who paid nominal rents, or who held by military tenure and paid a money-rent for their service. In addition to their rents, these tenants owed suit to the court baron and usually the feudal incidents of wardship, marriage and relief.¹ The nominal rents commonly paid included cumin, pepper, wax, capons, dog leashes, spurs and gloves: in some cases these proceeds were sold by the accountant; in others they were granted to officials as part of their remuneration. They were usually not very important in their contribution to the total rent charge.² The examples of military tenure come, in the main, from west Wales. The rents of tenants by military service were valued at under £3 in the lordship of Walwyn's Castle in 1463-4 and 1475-6. Castle ward worth 12s. was charged in respect of 24 acres in East Pembroke, while in the western division of the County the free rents of Corston 'called Castle Ward' were charged at £4.³ In terms of numbers neither of these groups of tenants was very important.

1. In the sixteenth century some of the free tenants at Crickhowell did homage for their lands and, after the ceremony had been completed, paid £5 to the lord or his officer. The value of the relief and its fixed nature suggest that these were tenants of the highest status. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 389. Certain Welsh freeholders held by a form of military tenure based upon the old Celtic military service. As Celtic inheritance was equal and joint, the incidents of wardship and marriage could not be charged: a 'heriot' or 'relief' was however paid. Wm. Rees, South Wales and the March 1284-1415, Oxford, 1924, pp. 145-7.
2. At Carhampton Berton (Dunster) in 1465-6 the accountant was charged the relatively unimportant sum of nearly £1.2s. as the value of pepper, cumin, capons, hens, gloves, a red rose and ten pounds of wax received as rent. A pepper rent was not charged at Caldicot because it had been given to the Auditors for their fees. Of 96 tenants at Raglan in 1436-7 only four owed nominal rents. N.L.W. Badminton, M.R., 1557, 1510 and 1612.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567 and 1569. The tenure in these cases had probably become virtually indistinguishable from ordinary free socage.

William Herbert held a number of boroughs; as well as owning properties in those of other lords.¹ By the late 1460's, for instance, Herbert was holding at least 22 burgages in Monmouth.² It is thus no surprise to find burgage tenants among those who owed rents to the baron. These tenants possessed free status, and paid rents of a shilling - or parts and multiples of a shilling - for their burgages. The medieval burgess was a highly privileged tenant. He usually enjoyed the privilege of pleading within the borough walls, and the influence of the borough court was often augmented by a simultaneous reduction of the influence of seigneurial justice in the borough. The burgess might be called upon to perform certain light services, but, on the other hand, he often enjoyed manorial privileges on the waste. In addition to his rent, he might owe certain of the feudal incidents, but, like other free tenants, he enjoyed the rights of alienation and demise so far as his tenement was concerned. The borough often enjoyed valuable mercantile privileges: freedom from the payment of tolls and monopoly rights over trading within a certain area were the commonest of these. Finally, the burgesses often obtained substantial powers of self-government and self-taxation. The burgess was thus protected economically and legally

1. Pembroke obtained borough status between 1154 and 1189; Haverford between 1189 and 1219, and Tenby between 1265 and 1294. Dunster seems to have achieved the status in the mid-13th century, but Llandoverly had to wait until 1485. Monmouth was another mid-13th century creation; Caerleon did not obtain the status until the following century. The evidence of the accounts however suggests that borough status - or its equivalent - was enjoyed by other towns: both Crickhowell and Tretower are referred to as boroughs; despite the lack of evidence of their ever having been chartered or incorporated. Other settlements, while not possessing borough status, were certainly involved in trading and other urban activities: Llanstephan and Minehead fall into this group. A. Ballard, British Borough Charters 1042-1216, Cambridge, 1913. A. Ballard and J. Tait, British Borough Charters 1216-1307, Cambridge, 1923. M. Weinbaum, British Borough Charters 1307-1660, Cambridge, 1943. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 389, 1510, 1563 and 1557.
2. This estimate is based upon the 'repaid rents' section of the accounts. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579 and 1586.

from excessive interference by the lord, or his administration. In south Wales the burgess's monopoly rights so far as trading was concerned may have been even more extensive than in England, because trading in Welsh country areas was, in theory at least, very strictly controlled.¹

The town rents being charged in the fifteenth century sometimes included sums for certain of the seigneurial rights over trade which had been farmed to the tenants. At Haverford, for example, a compound sum was charged in respect of the burgesses' rents; the rents of temporary traders, and the revenues derived from the stallage dues in the meat market.²

There were also lands within the towns and in their hinterlands which were not held by burgage tenure, but which contributed to the town's rent charge. Thus, among the Pembroke assize rents there is a reference to a burgage which had escheated to the lord for lack of heirs and had been re-let for 60 years at an unfree rent.³ In the case of

1. The Welsh burgess was generally more privileged than his English fellow. Welsh boroughs had often been established in close association with the castles built by the advancing Marcher lords and the king. They were primarily intended as administrative and military centres from which the surrounding areas could be held in check. This rôle made it necessary to ensure both the success and the loyalty of the boroughs. These aims were achieved by the granting of extensive economic privileges; by the physical and economic association of the borough and the castle; by the welcoming and protection of Church corporations, and by the restriction of membership to Englishmen, or loyal Welshmen. The rigour of the founding years however lapsed so far as membership was concerned: the Glyndwr Rebellion caused a reaction; but it was not permanent. E.A. Lewis, 'The Development of Industry and Commerce in Wales during the Middle Ages', (in) T.R.H.S. 1903.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

Tenby burgage rents were charged separately from the assize rents: in 1475-6 the former were valued at £2.3s and the latter at nearly £24. Some of the assize rent items however related to 'burgages', and the rents of the 80 temporary burgesses and chensers were also charged under that head.¹

The Herbert burgesses were probably of intermediate importance in terms of numbers: they were of greater significance than the free tenants so far dealt with; but they appear much less important alongside the free and unfree tenants who paid the bulk of the rents.

The free tenants - apart from those already mentioned - fall into two main groups; those who lived in the manorial situation, and those resident in the Welshries. The manorial freeholders included freedmen; charter holders and past possessors.² The freeholder usually held his land in return for a money-rent, suit of court and the payment of certain feudal incidents; the latter generally including relief, wardship and marriage.³ He had the right to alienate and devise his holding; and,

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

2. Celtic demesnes were sometimes leased by the Normans, but in other cases a manor was established - or an existing manorial arrangement strengthened. Welsh tribesmen often became freeholders in the latter situation; and the resident non-tribesmen the manor's villeins. In other cases, lowland areas of the Welshries were colonized by daughter-manors of a Norman lordship. (For much of this information, and that which follows relating to the unfree, manorial population and the tenants of the Welshries, I have relied on Professor Rees.)

3. He might also be liable for 'aids' to his lord.

although he might owe certain services, these were generally fairly light.

In the non-manorialized parts of the lordship the Welsh tribesmen resided as communities of free-holders. The nature of the tribal inheritance laws precluded the feudal incidents of wardship and marriage; but a heriot was usually charged on the death of a tenant.¹ The rents of the Welsh tenantry were assessed on a territorial basis: the collection of the dues sometimes being the responsibility of the native community. The nature of the dues owed by the Welsh population will be examined below. Suffice it here to say that the dues - which were paid very largely in money - were based upon ancient Celtic renders, already in part commuted and consolidated by the date of the Conquest; and that they had come to be regarded as the chief rents for the land held.

1. In areas under English influence this was often termed a 'relief'. According to a sixteenth-century rental, some freemen at Crickhowell held Welsh lands 'by relief'. On the tenant's death his heir came into court, produced his charter and paid the relief stipulated in the grant. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 389.

The unfree :

The unfree, manorial peasants were drawn originally from the ranks of the English bondsmen and Welsh non-tribesman.¹ Generally the latter group - who often worked the outlying properties - were not burdened to

1. At Crickhowell in 1559 the tenantry was divided into three main divisions: the 'Welsh' tenants; the residents of the 'borough', and the 'foreign' tenants. The Welsh tenants paid money rents for their lands, as well as the less-regular commuted cattle-render, the 'commorth'. (The Welsh tenant who was slow or negligent in the payment of his rent was liable to be amerced in the lordship's court, and, as in the other cases of amercement, he was treated more harshly than either the foreign tenant or the burgess.) He was also obliged to plough the demesne in Winter and in Lent; while the upkeep of the lordship's mills and certain of its weirs was the special responsibility of the Welsh tenantry. The same tenants were obliged to follow their lord to war and owed various aids, as well as a tallage of recognition payable to the lord on his entry into his estate. Suit of court was owed, and a heriot when the tenant died, or when land was alienated. Finally, the Welsh tenant paid poultry and money rents for rights of agistment. The Welsh tenant of the custumal thus appears to have been one of the native, manorial, villein tenants described above. The tenurial conditions of the foreign tenants are not revealed with the same clarity as those of the Welsh tenantry. It is probable that the foreign tenants were those who lived outside the borough and held by a variety of English tenures: the accounts from the 1470's certainly contain one^{ten} which relates specifically to the payers of 'English' rents. The 1477-8 account reveals freeholders among this group, but it is fairly clear that unfree tenants were also included. Moreover, at least some of these tenants owed commorth. N.L.W. Badminton, M.R., 389 and 12. The hereditary bondsmen and non-tribesmen resident in the Welshries were also classed as unfree; but, to a greater extent, their inferior status only acquired economic significance where there was manorial organization.

to the same degree as the English bondsmen. They usually owed fewer agricultural works and a greater number of the hauling and other occasional services. Technically, the customary tenant could have no property and therefore had no common-law rights in his land and goods. In fact, he could usually devise his land by the procedure of surrender and re-grant to a nominee, and even alienate it on payment of a fine and a heriot. The lord's rights over his tenant's land were moreover often strictly governed by custom.¹ The customary tenant paid a small rent based upon his acreage: this tended to grow as his services were commuted, and new rents added to the sum. The services rendered were tenurial and personal in type: the specific agricultural services seem originally to have been related to the amount of land held; whereas the boon works and such things as agistment dues were very probably personal liabilities. In addition to his rent and services, the tenant owed suit of court at the halimoot. His status disabled him in many ways: he could be forced to agist his swine on the lord's property; he had to grind his corn at the lord's mill and pay a toll for the privilege, and he was charged a toll on any animals he sold. The 'manorial incidents' - including those of heriot, merchet, leyrwyte and tallage - all had their theoretical origin in the tenant's legal inability to possess anything.

This classic view of the unfree tenant's lot must however be amended for the mid-fifteenth century: by then the villein's tenurial situation

1. Custom controlled the right of eviction and the inheritance of land. It was usual, for example, for a villein's heir to be given the first refusal of his land.

was in some ways less complex.¹ The services of the tenants were generally not exacted; many having been commuted and incorporated in the tenants' rents.² In some cases however certain services remained uncommuted and were sold on a yearly basis.³ Apart from the desire to provide for those instances in which labour would be preferred to its money-equivalent, administrations may have been motivated by the fear that unless they kept certain of the seigneurial rights active - or at least took care when commuting to keep the new rent apart from

1. Only in some ways however. By the fifteenth century status and tenure - never very firmly linked perhaps - were often operating more or less independently.
2. At St. Florence (Pembroke County) all the services seem to have been incorporated prior to 1434-5. The same is true of Tidenham and Berton (Chepstow) by 1477/8. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1508.
3. Works remained to be sold in this way at Carhampton Berton (Dunster). At neighbouring Minehead the works sold were much more impressive: in total they were worth £3.17s. The 'works' in fact included some customary rents: as well as the 13s.4d. charged for the harvest works of 53 customers, 16 tenants paid 1d. each as Peter's Penny, and millsilver - a rent paid in lieu of the service of hauling millstones - was charged on the tenants of Westemene [Peter's Penny was originally a Papal levy: it was often manorialized.] At Castlemartin (Pembroke Co.) commuted works worth just over 2s. were charged in 1434-5: harvest works worth 1s.5d. had been retained, and four others were charged in respect of some chensers - or landless tenants - who had settled on the demesne 'at their wills'. The other works sold at Castlemartin were ploughing and harvest works which seem to have been acquired with some demesne land and were valued at 9s.4d. Considerable numbers of works were sold each year at Rumney, Pencarn and Dowlais in the lordship of Newport/Wentloog; but at Stow manor they had allegedly been lost as a result of the evacuation of the unfree tenants and the subsequent leasing of bond land for consolidated money-rents. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557 and 1563. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.

the chief rent - the lord's rights over his tenants might be seriously impaired.¹

The leasing of the demesne not only allowed the customary tenant the option of buying-off his services, it also released him in many cases from the fate of having to serve as reeve.² The reeve enjoyed certain privileges and allowances during his term of office; but these were rarely sufficient compensation for the neglect of his own interests and the possibility of ending his office in debt. Where the office was no longer needed, the lord used the obligation as a fiscal device; the unfree being charged a rent in lieu of the duty.³ The relaxation of the tenants' duty

1. This may have been the case so far as certain of the rents charged in Coytrath Forest (Pembroke Co.) were concerned. In 1475-6 'firegavel' was charged apart from the general rent item pertaining to the unfree tenants. Each man having a hearth paid 2d. and each woman 1d. in Winter and Summer in lieu of the service of carrying wood to the castle. The forester's account was similarly charged with £3 in respect of 'a certain custom of the forest called Metesilver' (a commutation of the obligation to help with the hay harvest). N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. In many cases individual customary tenants purchased remission before the manor ceased to operate as an economic unit. The seigneurial withdrawal from cultivation was however probably the main factor which accelerated this type of commutation.
3. At Carhampton Berton the 'new rents' item records a charge of £1.18s. in respect of 38 named tenants who paid 1s. each to be excused from the office. At Minehead 45 customers paid for exoneration at the same rate; except for one who paid 6d. In both cases the current official was a bailiff. The tenants of Camrose (Haverford) were charged with a rent of 15s.6d. for exoneration from the office. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1566.

to provide manorial officials was however clearly not universal.¹

The relations of the tenant with his lord had been amended in another way. Some of the manorial and seigneurial incidents of tenure had been farmed to third parties. It was thus natural to farm the mill tolls along with the mills.² The mercantile dues and prises were also often leased. Marriage dues were being leased from an early date.³ In some cases the third parties were the tenants themselves: in others officials or outsiders farmed the rights. Either way the effect seems to have been the same: some of the most symbolic dues of dependence were transformed into economic properties, and the bond which linked lord and tenant was weakened.

1. In 1475-6 the Castlemartin account (Pembroke Co.) reveals that the obligation of the tenants to serve as manorial-cum-hundredal officials was still operative - or had been fairly recently. We read of a forfeited property which had come to the lord when the previous tenant had been elected to the office of collector of rents in the east hundred but had refused to serve. The estates of west Wales were generally more backward in this, as in other respects. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. At Crickhowell 4 water mills were specifically leased with the multures, 'ac molatis', N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 9.
3. In 1465-6 the sum of £2 was expected from the farmer of the 'amobragium' in the two commotes of Llandovery. This was the marriage due owed by the subject: the 'leyrwyf' - or fine to the lord for the incontinence of a daughter - was also included in the farm. These dues had been exacted in Wales before the Conquest, but after that event they became more oppressive; especially so far as the Welsh freemen of west Wales were concerned. The system of farming these rights was much abused by lesees: Edward II issued a regulatory ordinance on the subject, but the abuses continued. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 236-7. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.

Other tenants :

The unfree tenants of the fifteenth century were thus primarily rent-payers who owed suit of court and perhaps a few residual services, and were subject to certain incidents of their tenure. But the tenurial situation had been complicated, as well as simplified, by the developments of the later Middle Ages. The leasing of the demesne, of parcels of the waste and vacant customary tenements had augmented the importance of tenancies-at-will. While leases for fixed terms were common so far as the demesne and its properties was concerned, lords seem in some cases to have preferred a more fluid arrangement, which could be terminated when they wished. Probably pressure from the lessees worked in the same direction. A fluid economic situation would tend to make both parties value the freedom to re-negotiate conditions and change their policies.¹ The nature of the tenancy-at-will is unclear; beyond the fact that it was a lease for an unfixed period terminable by one or both of the parties. The tenancy clearly confused contemporaries too. Littleton distinguished the 'tenant-at-will' from 'the tenant at the will of the lord and according to the custom of the manor'. The latter, whom we can perhaps equate with the copyholder, was a tenant who was subject to the lord's will

1. Looking back from the sixteenth century, when the lord was making full use of his freedom to evict tenants-at-will, the tenure seems very unfavourable from the tenant's point of view. Certain writers have indicated that the tenancy-at-will was an arbitrary device from its inception. In fact, this tenure was probably unfavourable to the lord, if anybody, and, far from being the product of cunning, it seems to have been essentially the product of expediency. Its great value lay in its temporary quality.

when that will was qualified by the customs of the manor; customs which were all-important in that they protected the tenant from arbitrary action by the lord.¹ But was the tenant-at-will absolutely at the lord's mercy, or only relatively? It would perhaps be rash to conclude that the manorial customs were wholly inoperative in the case of this tenure. While the tenants-at-will held land primarily for a money-rent, they might also owe works, which suggests that they were more closely involved in the manor's affairs than one would have supposed.² One of the few generalizations which can be made about this tenancy is that it is often to be found on estates which had once had operating demesnes: it seems in short to have been commonly resorted to so far as land which fell outside the tenurial categories of free socage and customary land was concerned.³

1. A.W.B. Simpson, An Introduction to the History of the Land Law, O.U.P. 1961, Chapter VII.
2. At Castlemartin the chensers residing on the demesne 'at their wills' owed harvest works. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 1563.
3. Tenants at the will of the lord owed the bulk of the rent charge - about 70s of 86s. - on the account for Penrhyn, the Welshry of Llanstephan: the free tenants - the only other identifiable group - owed money-rents worth 10s. The Leweston (Haverford) charge of 1456-7 included a rent for 168 acres of land rented to Philip Somerhull and his wife 'at the will of the lord'. By 1462-3 this acreage - which was probably demesne land - was rented to 'divers men at the will of the lord'. Some land in Coytrath forest was let on this basis; although there is plenty of evidence for the existence of unfree tenure of a more usual kind. At St. Florence (Pembroke Co.) about 200 acres of demesne had been leased to various tenants at the will of the lord for 1s. an acre. On the Swansea accounts of 1448-9 there are references to demesne land leased 'ad gavill'; to lands leased 'at gavill at the lord's will', and to 'tenants at the lord's will'. ('Gafolmen' ('gabularii') were, in some cases, rent-paying tenants at will; rather than ordinary unfree tenants.) At Landimore the practice apparently dated back to Richard II's reign. (In at least some of these cases however it is possible that the term 'at will' is simply a synonym for 'bond'.) N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1565, 1566 and 1569. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster; Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 174-5.

At the bottom of the economic scale - and frequently of indeterminate status - we find the smallholders or cottars. Their services and rents were usually very light.¹ From their ranks came the hired labour we read of on the discharge side of the accounts.

Another small class of tenants was peculiar to south Walian estates. These were the 'avowry men'. Avowry tenants were landless strangers who commended themselves to the lord's protection by paying a small fine in the lordship's court. This fine was paid annually; if they withdrew they often paid - or owed - a heriot. Some of them became permanent residents as cottars, or holders of escheated villein property. At Castlemartin (Pembroke Co.) some chensers had clearly settled on the demesne and owed works in 1434-5.²

There has recently been an increasing awareness of the importance of freeholders in stimulating the processes which led to the break-up of the manorial system; even passively they were important as exemplars to their less-fortunate servile fellows. South Wales had a high proportion of freeholders, although their numbers decreased in the Anglicized parts of southern Pembroke and along the English border. This high density of freeholders was related to the lack of manorial penetration and development: the motive for depressing the status of the native population - or of exacting services from the existing unfree tenants - was

1. In 1434-5 at Llanstephan the rents of three 'coterells' only amounted to 1s. There were only 12 cottars at Raglan in the mid-fourteenth century, when the manor had about 190 tenants. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/970.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563. 'Chensers' were most often those landless persons who paid a rent for the right to trade in the lordship: in this case avowry tenants seem to have been meant. The converse of the avowry tenants were those of the manorial unfree who paid 'chevage' for licence to live outside the manor: Newport/Wentloog had a few such tenants in the fifteenth century. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004 (Rumney acct.)

largely absent in many areas. The lordship of Llandovery, for instance, had very few servile tenants and its commotes of Hirfryn and Perfedd were largely in the hands of Welsh free tenants. The lordship's few servile tenants were located at Sathevey, Llandovery and in the forest.

Although most of the accounts are rather vague about the status of the tenants, in a few cases there is fairly firm evidence in this respect. This evidence suggests that, while Herbert undoubtedly held manorial properties in Gwent, he was also lord of a number of estates with few of the characteristics of a manor, and, in particular, with little sign of large servile populations. By contrast, the lordships of west Wales - and possibly those of south-western England - had relatively large unfree populations. In the lordship of Walwyn's Castle the proportion of unfree to free was probably very high for in 1463-4 the unfree owed rents totalling £53; cottars and chensers £4.8s, and the free tenants a mere £4.3s.¹ The Carew accounts for 1475-6 give a similar impression: tenants-at-will - almost certainly meant in the general rather than the specific sense - in Old and New Carew were charged with rents totalling over £33; burgages in Tenby and Pembroke were worth £2.12s. in rents, and free rents £2.1s.² In the case of Haverford the information is fuller than usual; but still far from complete. The assize rents of the town were based upon a sum of nearly £22.4s. charged in respect of the burgage rents and certain mercantile dues. Supplementary items brought the rent-

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

-charge up to £25. At St Ishmaels the rent-charge of £11.16s. was owed wholly by customary tenants, although some chensers and cottars seem to have been included in the category. Leweston's rent-charge was worth £16.7s., the tenants being described as customers and tenants-at-will.¹ The Roch and Pill account does not distinguish between the free and unfree tenants. The charge at Camrose was worth nearly £17.3s: of this the unfree owed £7.7s. and the free tenants about £4. Finally, at Ketyngeston, free rents totalling £2 were owed. The Haverford evidence thus indicates the existence of rather more free tenants than at Castle Walwyn and Carew, but the numbers of servile tenants were still clearly appreciable.² In south-west England, the manors of Minehead and Carhampton clearly had considerable servile populations. At Carhampton, for example, about 40 tenants paid rents to be exonerated from the office of reeve, and the nature of the entries on the account leads one to believe that the unfree tenants were in the majority there.³ In south-east Wales many of the estates seem to have lacked servile tenants in any number; although there would seem to have been a number of important exceptions. These moreover included some of the largest and

1. In the case of the two carucates of land at Aylereshull the lessees were referred to as 'customers' and 'tenants-at-will', which probably means that the terms were being used as synonyms.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

most valuable of the Earl's holdings in the area.¹

1. The evidence in the case of the following properties does not suggest the existence of servile tenants. This is not, of course, to say that there were none; but the proportion relative to the free tenants was possibly not very important:

Bryngwyn; Tal-y-fan; Caerleon; Pen-y-clawdde; Aberystroth;
Usk Parish; Llanvair Mybon Owen; Lagharne; Lebenyth-Caerleon;
Moynescourt; Wellington; Wonastow; Trelleck; Yazor, and
Kilpeck.

At Llantilio Crossenny; Dingestow; Bettws, and Llanddewi Rhydderch the probability that servile tenants contributed to the rent payments is a little stronger.

The positive evidence for the occurrence of large numbers of ^{customary} tenants in south-east Wales is not very extensive. At Raglan in the 1430's there were 96 tenants in the lordship; 55 of whom owed services as well as money rents, as against 54 who paid only money or nominal rents. At Mathenny 159½ works were being charged in 1481/2. Bond lands are referred to on the Goytre account of 1468-9, while from Maendiffi we have a reference to animals forfeited by the death of one of the lord's serfs. At Penrhos tenants at will owed rents totalling nearly £8 in 1480-1. At Caldicot in 1482-3 the free tenants owed rents worth £5.8s: the assize rents of the tenants-at-will (who probably also included the lessees of the demesne and parcels of waste) amounted to £26.10s. At Magor, although the proportions are not ascertainable, the rents were also paid by free tenants and tenants-at-will. There were clearly customary tenants at Crickhowell and Stradewy/Tretower, and almost certainly in the members of Chepstow (Tidenham and Berton). There were certainly villeins on most of the manors of Newport/Wentloog in the mid-fifteenth century, but the accounts of the various properties suggest that the old categories used to define lands and tenants were becoming less relevant. The gradual dissolution of the manorial system had moreover been quickened in the case of Stow manor, where the serfs were said to have fled en masse. The proportion of villein tenants was probably low in the case of Wyesham/Monmouth: the rubrics describe the tenants there as 'free as well as for term of life or years'. Not surprisingly, the servile tenants are usually to be found on estates which were traditionally manorial in their organization. Where there were servile tenants, they may well have been in the majority. However, in many cases, the estates assembled by the family seem to have been rented to free tenants. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1508, 1509, 1589, 1590, 1510, 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 2610 and 1612. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.

The Demesne:

Many of the accounts mention demesne lands. In west Wales there were demesne properties at Castlemartin, Tenby, St. Florence, Kyngeswood and Gawdon, Haverford, Llandovery, Cilgerran, Llanstephan, Swansea and Walwyn's Castle. The demesne land of the lordship of Dunster appears to have been mainly situated at Carhampton Berton, although there was parkland at Minehead, Kilton and East Quantoxhead. In the Monmouth area specific references to demesne lands are a little rarer, probably because of the nature of the estates there. Where existing manors were taken over - as at Caldicot, Newton and Crickhowell; Tidenham and Berton (constituent manors of Chepstow lordship), and Rumney, Dowlais, Pencarn, Stow, Dyffryn and Machen (the manorial members of Newport/Wentloog) - one finds references of this kind. On the other hand, in the case of a property made up of many purchased lands, demesne lands tend not to be mentioned and probably did not exist; except in the sense of parcels reserved for the lord's use in a particular year.¹

As Table 1 shows in only a few cases is there evidence of seigneurial activity on the demesne lands. Moreover, much of the evidence we have suggests a fairly limited pastoral activity on behalf of the lord or his officials. The need for local supplies of hay and

1. Lagharne's charge reveals the nature of this type of estate. Assize rents accounted for nearly £39 of the annual charge of £45.10s. A further £3.6s.8d. was charged in respect of 40 acres of land lately purchased by Herbert and leased to two men beyond the rent and other charges owed to the king. Another purchase - a messuage with 21 acres of land - was leased for £1.13s.4d. for a 20 year term. A property worth 6s.8d. in rent - beyond the dues payable to the king - had been purchased from, and leased to, yet another tenant. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587.

pasture dictated the retention of certain parcels of land near the nodal points of the complex of estates. In Wales this usually meant close to a castle. Thus, at Haverford in 1462-3 the Constable and Improver presented a bill of the costs of making hay at Heylershill and transporting it to the Castle.¹ At Carhampton Berton, in addition to the four acres of meadow delivered to officers of the manor in 1465-6, the 16s.8d. rent of a close was lost because it had been enclosed in the park and reserved for the lord's animals.² Fifty acres of demesne land were let in 1475-6 to the Constable of Tenby Castle: the lease was for 40 years and had been concluded between the lessee and the Herbert Receiver-General. While we cannot be certain that the lessee was acting in his official capacity, this does seem probable.³ This rather limited seigneurial agricultural activity was occasionally stepped-up when the lord visited an estate and temporarily increased the demand for fodder, pasture and fuel.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

4. The Pembroke accounts for 1434-5 reflect the preparations made to accommodate Humphrey of Gloucester and his council. The farm of 13 acres of meadow was allowed on the Castlemartin account because it had been mown against the coming of the lord and his council 'when they came to the Priory for the lord's business'. Thirty-one journeys were made from St. Florence to stock Pembroke Castle with fuel before the lord arrived with his council; and another 31 loads of fuel were transported from Coytrath Forest to Tenby Castle. At Tenby hay had to be purchased for the horses, and the fodder stocks of Pembroke Castle were supplemented by hay from Kyngeswood and Gawdon. In 1475-6 the 13 acres of meadow were again allowed at Castlemartin because they had been mown for the Earl's horses; the hay having been made and transported to Pembroke Castle at the cost of nearly £1. Hay from Kyngeswood was once again taken to Pembroke Castle. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1569.

In quite a number of cases the demesne properties included a park of some description.¹ These parks clearly eased the problem of pasturing the lord's livestock. Perhaps for this reason, parkland in the Raglan area was expanded in the mid-century. At ~~Llantilio~~ Crossenny - which lies a few miles west of Monmouth and north of Raglan - the evidence of emparkment is very clear. The charge information reveals that a number of pieces of land and pasture, held of the king and the Bishop of Llandaff and worth £2.13s. in rent terms, were not being charged ^{for} because they had been enclosed in the park.² As well as the rents not charged because of emparkment, the Llantilio accounts indicate that other rents were lost as a result of this policy. In 1468-9 rents totalling £1.1s. were allowed as decayed. A piece of pasture enclosed in the park accounted for about half of the decay sum, while the other rents had been lost when parcels of land had been exchanged for pieces held within the confines of the park. By 1477-8 'Seynt Marilond' - worth 3s.4d. a year - had been enclosed within the park for eight years.³

1. While some of them were probably quite extensive, in many cases the 'park' was obviously merely an enclosed area of pasture. Enclosures were no doubt often temporary: in 1475-6, at Carew, the east and west parks were enclosed for 2s.8d. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. In addition, a number of meadows and closes listed under the Llantilio Regis head were withdrawn from the charge because they had been used to provide hay, and pasture at Kevencroys and some Whitecastle demesne properties were similarly not charged ^{for} because of seigneurial use. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1508 and 1510.
3. At East Quantoxhead (Dunster) nothing was charged under the head 'Issues of lands in the park' in 1465-6. Lands valued at £3.17s., and containing at least 45 acres, had been enclosed in the park: no issues were forthcoming beyond the agistment dues, which were worth nearly £1.3s. (In 1461-2 the lands had been charged as though occupied by a tenant; although the tenant was Elizabeth Lutterell, the wife of the dispossessed lord of Dunster, Sir James Lutterell.) The 1442-3 valor of Richard of York's Welsh and Marcher properties suggests that emparkment was also being practised at Usk and Caerleon. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C.11/818. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.

Apart from the pasturing of his own livestock, the parks could be turned to the lord's profit in other ways. Agistment rights leased to tenants could be quite remunerative. At Llantilo agistment in the park was thus expected to yield £2 in 1477-8. At Carhampton Berton, where the proceeds of the demesne leases, agistment and pannage were worth about £40 in the mid-fifteenth century, the revenues derived from the grazing of animals in the fields, woods and park made a significant contribution to the charge. In 1461-2 agistment accounted for about £5.15s; by 1465-6 the figure had exceeded £7.5s, and in 1478-9 it stood at £8.6s.8d. The manorial issues at Minehead were almost wholly dependent upon the proceeds of the park agistment.¹ Sales of wood and brush in the park could also contribute useful additions to the charge.

The quantity of land available for leasing was clearly subject to fluctuation as the seigneurial need for, or interest in, land increased or decreased. At Penrhos, for example, of demesne properties worth £7, only one close worth less than 10s. was in fact leased in 1463-4. In 1468-9 the amount of this property leased had however increased; the rents amounting to nearly £1.14s.² These short-term changes in

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1556, 1557 and 1558.
2. In 1479-80 meadows and pastures at Wonastow were leased for £3, while similar properties of like value were withheld for the lord's use: the succeeding two years saw the value of the property withheld fall quite markedly. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1585, 1587 and 1590.

supply are reflected in the adjustments to the charge occasionally found on the accounts of officers responsible for the demesne and park properties.¹

The evidence as to the type of leases involved in the leasing of demesne lands is very thin. It seems probable that certain properties and rights were leased on a yearly basis, or for even shorter periods: leases to tenants of the right to agist animals or take hay were probably of this type.² In the case of more important properties, the lease for a fixed term was probably commoner. The agreement between the lord and the lessee would usually be recorded in the form of an indenture: the rent to be paid would be recorded (possibly with incremental and distraint clauses), and careful provision made for the upkeep of the

1. At Crickhowell (Brecon) the parker was responsible for the collection of the farms for demesne properties; the proceeds of the sale of meadows and pastures; the agistment dues of the park, and the profits of the sale of wood. In 1477/8 he had to be allowed 18s. because the demesne farms and sales of meadows and pastures had been over-charged that year; in 1479-80 he was allowed £1.15s. in this respect, and about the same in 1480-1. This over-estimation of the charge was probably, at least in part, the consequence of fluctuations in seigneurial demand for pasturage. The more common case, where an item was listed and then annotated 'not charged because occupied to the lord's use', has already been referred to. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.
2. Pannage, which was in a sense leased to the tenants, was by its nature seasonal. The swine were agisted in the woods during the autumn: the dues owed were assessed at a swine-moot held on, or near, St Martin's day (10th Nov.).

property.¹

Limited interests in land of a customary type are also found on the accounts. The tenancy-at-will represented an interest for an indefinite period. There were also however leases of a customary type, which were effective for limited periods: a number of years might be stipulated, or the grant might extend for the life of one or more persons.²

In addition to the demesne lands proper and the parks, the lord often claimed seigniorial rights over forest land and the waste. By the fifteenth century the main value of these areas seems to have lain in

1. The accounts rarely give much detail in the case of leases of land, usually noting merely the name of the lessee and the term, and indicating the length of time left to run. In some cases, the leasing official is also given. The evidence suggests that leases of 20 years were relatively popular in south Wales in the fifteenth century. At Llanstephan 7 acres of meadow had been leased for a 20 year period from 1435-6, while the Lagharne account also reveals a 20 year lease of a messuage and 21 acres. Leases of 20-30 years seem to have been favoured in Newport/Wentloog in the first half of the fifteenth century: some of these leases were however allowed to run on after the expiry date. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1587. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 184-223.
2. A cottage at Wyesham was thus leased for a period of 99 years in 1453-4; the details of the lease being recorded on the court roll. At Caldicot the new rents include one lease for three lives; two for one life, and one to a tenant 'and his heirs according to the custom of the manor'. (At least one of these leases related to pieces of waste land.) At 'Trewidua' (Swansea) land which a man had held 'at the lord's will' was afterwards leased to the same man, his wife and son for their lives at an increased rent. Similarly, at 'Lymion' land which had been let 'ad gavell' was leased for a 'certain' rent. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1510. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/651/10531.

the grazing rights which could be leased.¹ The waste and forest could however be put to another use: it might be taken-in and leased to tenants; as was happening at Raglan in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century.

But what of the few estates where a more extensive form of seigneurial agriculture was being practised? These estates lay in near proximity to Raglan in an area favourable to the cultivation of grain crops.

Llantilio Crossenny was thus the scene of considerable activity by the Herbert family. If we add together the values given for lands withdrawn from the charge because of their use by the lord in 1463-4, they amount to just over £6.² This activity also left its imprint on Llantilio's expenditure. In 1463-4, for example, £13 was allowed as 'Necessary expenses':

1. The agistment of the islands of Skokholm, Skalmey and Middleholm was charged at 13s.4d. on the St Ishmaels (Haverford) account. In Llanstephan lordship the common lands of St Clears were rented. Salt meadows or 'warths' appear fairly frequently in the accounts of those lordships which lay along the south Wales coastline. Four tenants of the hamlet of Emeton (Caldicot) were paying an annual rent of 2s.8d. a year for the pasture of their animals on Emeton hill in 1482-3. Agistment dues were often paid in kind; renders of hens being particularly common. At Crickhowell every tenant^{or} resident in, or near, the forest owed a hen at St Andrew's feast for the right of agisting beasts there. Generally communal rights in this respect were strong in the lordships of Gwent and Pembroke: seigneurial rights tended to be much stronger in the lordships of Brecon. There may have been an attempt on the part of the tenantry of Crickhowell to avoid the seigneurial control of the herbage in Myarth Forest for a draft survey of the manor dated 1587 contains a proof of the lord's rights in this respect. The manorial accounts had been used to provide evidence of rents being paid for the herbage as far back as Richard II's reign. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1563, 1510, 402 and 389. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 109 et seq.
2. These lands do not include those not charged because of emparkment.

of this sum just over £4.8s. had been spent at nearby Penrhos. On both estates the monies paid to manorial servants and men hired to perform particular agricultural tasks constituted the bulk of the expenditure.¹ The Penrhos charge information also provides ample evidence of agricultural activity on the lord's behalf. For example, in 1463-4 the demesne properties listed on the account were valued in rent terms at over £7: all but one of these properties [worth 8s.4d. had been reserved for the lord's use.²

The agricultural activity of the Herbert family in Wyesham-Monmouth had its main physical location in a piece of land called 'the ham above Wyebridge'. The value of this land is regularly found on the bills of decayed lands; the sum of £3 being allowed from 1454-5 until 1466-7 because of the seigneurial use of the land. In the latter year the item appeared as usual on the decay bill, but was scored through and a note added to the effect that the land was in the hands of a Thomas Sudler. After what may have been a period of withdrawal from direct, arable exploitation, decay references of this kind recur in the early 1480's.³

1. Two drivers and two ploughmen were paid for their year's work at Llantilio. Then, sums were paid to various people hired for harrowing, weeding, hay-making, threshing and hedging. At Penrhos another two ploughmen had been employed - one for a year; one for six months. In addition, one of the ploughmen had 'found' two servants for his plough. A driver was also employed; as well as another man who received 15s. a year. At busy times casual workers were hired for specific tasks, just as at Llantilio. These costs had consumed just over £4 at Penrhos and about £1 more at Llantilio. Of the £15.12s. allowed in 1468-9, payments to full-time servants and for seasonal help amounted to £5.11s. and £5.8s. at Llantilio and Penrhos respectively. (This information is drawn from the detailed bills which survive on the Llantilio accounts for 1463-4 and 1468-9.) N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1587.
2. While some of the properties were meadowland, the proportion of arable seems to have been of greater importance. Penrhos lies about 3 miles to the north of Raglan, and a mile or two to the south of its neighbour, Llantilio. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.
3. In 1482-3 £3.12s was allowed as the rent of the 'homme above Wyebridge', which had been used by the Countess to raise oats. It is also clear that the Countess had used the property during the previous year.

The discharge information gives weight to the idea of a temporary withdrawal so far as the arable was concerned. The agricultural work done at Wyesham-Monmouth was paid for by the bailiff. In 1453-4 nearly £3 was spent on wages, and the more complete agricultural costs of the following year consumed over £7.¹ References of this scale are noticeably absent from the later accounts for Wyesham-Monmouth. This is not however convincing proof of the absence of such expenditure, and there are still references to produce being transported to Raglan and of oats being dressed at Monmouth. An interesting item on the decay bill for 1469-70 may provide a partial explanation of the paradox of continuing agricultural production combined with a lack of agricultural expenditure. A piece of land valued at £1 was held to be in decay: the item was annotated 'because it is used for corn to the third sheaf'.² This may indicate that some form of stock-and-land lease had been adopted in this area. By such a

1. The agricultural items on the bill of 1453-4 mention ploughing, harrowing and enclosing work. On the bill of the following year the costs seem more typical, Wheat was purchased to sow the ham, which was drained, ploughed and enclosed; barley seed was purchased; labourers were hired to beat 'clottes in the home'; oats and barley were winnowed; nearly £3 was spent in buying and transporting wheat from Ross to sow at Wyesham; food was purchased for the harvesters (a fraction of which was sent to Penrhos for 'the harvest men' there); men were paid for carting barley and peas to the barn and for harvesting the barley, and the payments made for the bagging of peas were allowed. Although there may be more than the expenses of one year here, the items do seem representative of the agricultural year as a whole, as opposed to that part of it reflected in the earlier bill. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1579.
2. 'quia occupatur ad terciam garbam cum frumento'.
'After the rebellion of the Mortimers, large portions of their Wigmore and Radnor demesnes were rented ... A few years later the new expedient was adopted there of letting out the demesnes with their stock in return for every third sheaf that was harvested'. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 182-3.

system, tenants were provided with land - and occasionally with equipment and stock. In return, they gave a proportion of their produce to the lord as a rent. Apart from its value as a hedge against inflation, the system would probably appeal to an administration concerned to safeguard its local food supplies. (It is also probable that the decline in Wyesham's agricultural spending was, in part, the consequence of a transference of these costs to another account. We have noted that Llantilio and Penrhos were linked in this respect, and evidence exists of similar cooperation between Wyesham and the latter property.)¹ The stock-and-land lease system also seems to have been adopted at Penrhos. In 1481-2, for instance, the bailiff of Penrhos disclaimed responsibility for 'grain forthcoming of the third sheaf by the lord's tenants [sown] there last year'; the bailiff of the lord's husbandry answering for its value in his account. If we turn to the account of the Raglan and Mathenny demesne bailiff, we find him answering for 'the value of 50 truggs of oats of the husbandry of the lord in Penrhos ... sown at the third sheaf by the lord's tenants there.'²

1. The expenditure of 1454-5 seems moreover a little excessive in view of the scale of activity at Wyesham, as suggested by the withdrawals of land for seigneurial use.
2. In 1480-1 he had been charged £1 for the value of 'grains forthcoming from the third sheaf of the sowing of the Penrhos tenants' in 1479-80. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1590 and 1589.

The demesne properties available for leasing were by no means limited to land. The Herbert estate accounts reveal leases of ovens, barns, lime kilns, fisheries, weirs and mills.¹

The mills:

The mills - and the fisheries which were often associated with them - were usually leased for a term of years. The most important mill charge in Pembroke County was that dealing with the Pembroke mills. In 1434-5 one man held them on a seven-year lease, which had about one year to run. The Tenby mills were leased to John ap Guillim Thomas, the Constable, in 1475-6 on a 20-year lease. At Newton (Caldicot) a grain mill had been let for an eight-year term in 1482-3. Two mills at Magor were being held on 20-year terms in the same year.² The lessees of the mills were often persons of some standing in the community, and it is not unusual to find officials and members of the Herbert family as lessees.³ Their profits would come largely from the tolls paid by those who were forced to grind their corn at the lord's mill. In some cases however the mills were rented to the tenantry as a whole. Of the rents owed by the tenants of Llanvair Mybon Owen, the sum of £2.13s.4d. was for the mill there.⁴

1. At St Florence in 1475-6 two barns and a cart house had been leased, and an increment was charged on the rent for the lord's oven within the manor. One of the barns was being leased to the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary for their meetings. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. Twenty-year leases were used when Swansea's mills were farmed at some date prior to 1448-9. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L.29/651/10531. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1569 and 1510.
3. Thus, John ap Guillim Thomas was holding the Tenby mills in 1475-6 and Penrhos mill was being farmed by the dowager Countess in 1479-80. Generally, the important mills were secured by one or two lessees; groups of tenants concentrated on securing the tenure of less-important - and often outlying - mills.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587.

In Coytrath forest (Pembroke County) the free rents included the farm of six mills in 1475-6, and three mills were being charged on the Emlyn (Cilgerron) account.¹ In these cases the tenants had obviously gained protection against the possible abuses of a farmer (or the lord's officials) by taking over the exploitation of the mill and its appendant seigneurial rights.

The accounts do not always specify the type of mill involved: the general impression given however is of a majority of grist mills with a fairly important minority of fulling mills.²

The mills and weirs were properties which required frequent attention if they were to be kept in working order. The charges suggest that many mills had been allowed to fall into disrepair - or had not been reconstructed after their destruction by some political or natural catastrophe.³ Castlemartin

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. Of the Emlyn mills one was worth 8s. and the other two 3d. In the case of the smaller rents, it seems likely that the tenants were in fact paying for licence to use hand-mills, or 'quorns'.
2. There were three water grist-mills at Pembroke. At Tenby there were three mills - probably for grain - two powered by wind and one by water. Both Castlemartin and St Florence had one water-mill for grain. At Kyngeswood and Gawdon there was a fulling-mill in 1434-5: before 1475-6 it had been re-constructed and let at an enhanced rent. The six Coytrath mills included two fulling mills and one water-mill; but, in fact, few of these mills seem to have been occupied by 1475-6. In the lordship of Dunster, the mills were charged on the Carhampton Berton account; the two grain mills at Dunster being the most valuable properties. In addition, another grain mill with a garden and a fishery, and a newly-constructed grain mill were leased. By 1478-9 one of these secondary mills was empty and the other had been let at a reduced rate. On the other hand, an additional (fulling) mill appears on the final account, as well as a mill 'made for the smith'. There seem to have been a relatively large number of fulling mills in the Mowbray lordships of west Wales. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accts; DL29/651/10531. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1569, 1556, 1557 and 1558.
3. At Castle Walwyn in 1463-4 mills were charged on the Marloes, Haroldston and town accounts. In 1475-6 all three mills were in decay because of a lack of repair work. In the uniformity of the excuse, there are the grounds for the suspicion that a real situation was being obscured by formula. On the other hand, the accounts contain several instances of this kind of thing; if less spectacular ones. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567 and 1569.

had had two mills before the Rebellion, but one - a wind-mill - had been burnt by the rebels and not repaired by 1434-5.¹

The administration was however prepared to spend - and to spend heavily - to keep the more profitable mills in being. In 1462-3 there was no charge in respect of the Haverford mills because they were under repair. The very large sum of £135 had been paid by the Receiver to the Constable of Haverford Castle for the 'new construction of the town's mills'. In 1434-5 the Cilgerran weir was only reckoned to be worth £10, because it had been under repair from September 1434 to June 1435. In 1464-5 its value was down to £6: once again, construction work was pleaded by the accountant.² Repairs were clearly important and costly, and consequently the liability for them was often divided. Some of the responsibility was often assigned by custom to the tenantry who owed suit at the mill. This communal obligation was often restricted to the carriage of mill-stones. At Crickhowell however the obligation was more extensive. The failure of the Welsh tenants to perform their duty of repairing Clydach mill and keeping the water in the right course led, in 1479-80, to their being fined £1 each.³ At the other extreme, we find

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.
2. The Receiver's account conversely reveals the cost of the repairs in terms of the money spent, rather than the proceeds lost by inactivity. Seventeen pounds were spent on the weir in 1434-5, and £34 in 1464-5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566, 1563 and 1568.
3. A custumal prepared early in Elizabeth's reign states that: '... all the Welsh tenants of Llanelly ... shall sustain and repair the mill of Clydach ... with all carpentry, mill stones and all manner of other works necessary ... And they shall find sufficient water at all times of Winter and Summer ... to the course of the said mill'. The tenant who defaulted was fined 10s. in each case. The lord was however to find the timber for the repair work. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509 and 389.

the lord being wholly responsible for the upkeep. The Tenby mills, which were at farm in 1424-5, were to be repaired by the lord, and a similar situation obtained at Castlemartin. However, a division of the responsibility between the lord and the farmer was probably more common, with the lord's contribution encompassing any of his tenants' obligations which had not been commuted. At St Florence in 1434-5 the water-mill was occupied by a lessee on a 20-year term: the farmer was liable for repairs during his occupation, but the lord had agreed to provide large timbers, mill-stones and ironwork for the fusil of the mill.¹

Agricultural profits and mill issues:

The agricultural profits of the Herbert estates may be quickly dispensed with here. What activity there was does not seem to have produced very much in the way of surpluses for sale.²

Sometimes by design, and sometimes because of a lack of tenants,³ certain of the mills and weirs were exploited by the administration. The issues of these properties were often quite significant. At Cilgerran

1. Even at Crickhowell, where the Welsh tenants were heavily burdened in this respect, the lord had his part to play. He thus provided the timber for Clydach mill. The tenants and the lord shared the carriage of timber for Usk mill; the shares being determined by the part of the mill which was under repair: in this case too however the provision of the timber was the lord's responsibility. Weirs were to be made and maintained at both of the mills by the Welsh tenants, but here again the burden was not wholly theirs and they could claim pay at the rate paid in the time of Hugh Tuberville. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 389.
2. The value of the oats and hay sold at Wyesham-Monmouth in the 1450's was insignificant. Surpluses of grain were sold on the Raglan-Mathenny account in the early 1480's; but it is difficult to estimate how typical these sales were.
N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1589 and 1590.
3. For example, the St Florence water-mill could not be farmed because of a lack of takers in 1475-6: its issues were charged at £2, beyond the tithe and the miller's wages. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

the profits of the weir in the Teifi came from the sale of salmon and other fish caught there. In all three years for which we have accounts repair work resulted in low charges; but, even so, £10 was charged in 1434-5 and £6 in 1464-5. In 1464-5 the Cilgerran water-mill and Combe mill had come into the lord's hands, possibly for repair work: the issues were still worth over £3, excluding the tithe and the millers' stipends. The Haverford mills were in the hands of an improver in 1456-7: over £13 was charged in respect of corn-flour sold and the other profits of the mills.¹ At Maendiffi the mill was exploited by the administration in the 1460's; but by 1479-80 the mill had been farmed, and the same pattern seems to have been followed at Llantilio Crossenny/Penrhos.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568 and 1565. The Haverford official was also responsible for the ale prise and among his charge was a prise known as 'milleale'. Professor Rees has suggested that this levy of a gallon of ale on each brewing - or a penny in lieu - was payable to the mill's owner as compensation for the tolls lost as a consequence of the malting of the grain. Wm. Rees, op.cit., p. 162.
2. The Penrhos mill issues were charged at about £2.10s. in 1463-4 and 1468-9 on the Llantilio account: by 1477-8 the item had disappeared from that account and in 1479-80 we find the mill being farmed to the Countess on the Penrhos account. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1509, 1589, 1590 and 1508.

II Communal dues¹

The tables at the beginning of this chapter reveal the important - if somewhat intermittent - contribution ~~was~~ made to the charges of certain estates by communal dues. The impression given is, in fact, a conservative one, for the examples chosen for Table II do not include any of the estates whose character and charge was influenced by substantial numbers of Welsh tenants. The communal dues paid on the Herbert estates were of two main types; the tallages and subsidies extracted from the residents of a lordship, and the rents paid by the Welsh tenants.

Tallages and subsidies:

In its narrow sense, 'tallage' was one of the manorial incidents which bore on the unfree. It was a consequence of the idea that the villein's goods were the lord's; a concept which also gave birth to the other incidents-heriot; entry fine; merchet; chevage and suit of mill and oven.² Tallage however came to be synonymous with any tax which expressed authority on the one hand and dependence on the other. It was in this general sense that tallage was of importance in Wales.

1. Assessment of some of the Welsh tenants' rents was on a territorial basis, and collection was, in some areas, the responsibility of the whole community. In this sense, these rents can be termed communal dues. However, within the basic assessment areas the burden had usually been divided out, often on the basis of the amount of land held: in this sense, these dues were as individual in their nature as those borne by the manorial tenants.
2. D.R. Denman, Origins of Ownership, London 1958, p. 120-3.

The tallage of recognition:

The tallage of recognition was a monetary acknowledgement on the part of a lord's tenants that they were his subordinates and he their lord. It was exacted when a new lord entered his livelihood. In return for the recognition, the tenants probably usually required certain concessions from the lord; the confirmation of existing privileges was an obvious demand. The lordship's officials may moreover have exerted pressure to secure fiscal concessions; like the cancellation or postponement of arrears. The Crickhowell accounts for 1480-1 contain exonerations to officials which had the effect of clearing arrears and current sums worth £124: all sums owed from the pre-1477 period were cleared, as well as some more recent debts. The rubrics detail the names of the favoured officials and the sums involved, which were 'pardoned and released because of the payment of his [the lord's] tallage of recognition in his first coming there ...'.¹ The tallage seems to have been worth £100 at Crickhowell.¹ These large sums were usually discharged over a period of a year or two: thus in 1477-8 the Crickhowell Receiver was being charged for a third of the £100 laid on the lordship.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2610 and 12. The second Earl had been licensed to enter his possessions in 1475.
2. The amounts and terms were, to some extent, matters of custom.

The evidence relating to these tallages comes largely from west Wales.¹ In 1461-2 the Treasurer of Pembrokeshire Comty was charged with nearly £153 as the tallage of recognition granted to William Herbert at his first coming and 'according to old custom upon the tenants and residents of the County ... assessed, to be paid at the terms of Pentecost within the time of the account and Michaelmas at the end of the account...'.²

In 1475-6 the Treasurer disclaimed responsibility for any part of £26.13s.4d., the tallage of recognition owed by the tenants of Llanstephan.²

From the Treasurer's account, we also learn that Cilgerran's tallage was worth £40; payment was spread over four feasts of Easter and Michaelmas.

(The County's tallage was worth the same in 1475-6 as it had been in 1461-2.)³

At Haverford the tallage was worth £80; the Receiver of 1462-3 was charged with the final £40 installment, £40 having been received during the preceding year. Here again the tallage was split into four payments.⁴

1. However, a sheet detailing the tallage of recognition payments owed by Raglan tenants to Lord Herbert on his entry into the lands ceded to him by Edward IV in 1465 is enrolled within the court roll of 1465-66. A sum of £33-9s. was to be paid - apparently as one payment - at Michaelmas. The collectors had clearly been elected in the court at Raglan: thus against Tal-y-fan John ap Griffith ap Philip's name appears with the gloss 'electus est collectarius ibidem de - 29s.5d'. As well as the sums laid on settlements in the lordship, about 17s. was assessed on particular parcels of land: thus the land of Hoell ap Ernolf was to yield 2s.11d. The total value of the tallage was to be charged in the account of Adam ap Meurig, the Raglan Receiver. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1675.
2. The sum was paid by the farmer of the lordship to John Vachan, the Herbert Receiver-General.
3. The 'County' certainly excluded Llanstephan and Cilgerran in this respect, and it seems very likely that Walwyn's Castle - whose ordinary liveries of cash were paid to the Treasurer in that year - was also assessed apart from the County.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564, 1569 and 1566.

Although these tallages were important in supplementing the revenues from the estates, their effect was obviously intermittent: the Marcher lord had however developed other ways of taxing his subjects by the fifteenth century.

Fines for the dissolution of the sessions:

The great sessions were held by the authority of the Marcher lord, who possessed regalian rights so far as justice was concerned within his lordship. The great sessions had a jurisdiction not unlike that given to royal commissioners of oyer and terminer: their main object was to investigate and judge the serious offences committed in the lordship.¹ By the mid fifteenth century Marcher lords had devised a means of realizing the monetary proceeds of the sessions with relatively little judicial and administrative effort. The sessions would be formally opened; the tenants would petition for the pardoning of their transgressions and the future enjoyment of their franchises, and would proffer a certain sum as a fine. The petition would be accepted - although not always in its entirety - and the sessions dissolved in return for the promised fine. The practice appears to have gained ground in the fifteenth century.² It con-

1. The jurisdiction of the Great Sessions in the Southern Principality had narrowed during the fourteenth century, particularly so far as civil actions and the less serious felonies were concerned: the Pembroke judicial system was very similar to that obtaining at Carmarthen. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales 1422-85', Bristol Ph.D. thesis 1962, c.p.50.
2. Dr. Griffiths believes that fines for redemption were levied in the Marcher lordships before the end of the fourteenth century. The aftermath of the Glyŵdr Rebellion may have accelerated the development by the demands for pardons from tenants. Some idea of the negotiations which preceded the granting of a fine can be gained from a letter from the Duchy of Lancaster Chancellor and Receiver to Sir William ap Thomas, a prominent local official of the Duchy, relating to the postponement of the sessions in the Duchy properties in south-east Wales and the bargaining for an acceptable fine. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster, Misc. Books, D.L. 42/18, fo. 145a R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 53.

tributed to the declining respect for law so evident in mid fifteenth-century south Wales, and, in the long run, forced the Crown to interfere with the Marcher jurisdictions and to overthrow them in the sixteenth century.¹

The Herbert estate records contain a number of references to the practice. In 1434-5 the Cilgerran Receiver was charged with £40 as a part-payment of a 'gift of the county' worth 100 marks in all: this had been granted at the 1433-4 sessions and was almost certainly a fine for their redemption. In 1464-5 the rubric makes it clear that the grant of 100 marks was given to the lord for the dissolution of the sessions. In the earlier year payment had been spread over five terms; payments being made at Easter and Michaelmas. The grant of 1463 was however discharged in four installments. This was probably a concession gained by Herbert at a time when ready cash was sorely needed. Dr. Giffiths has shown that the adjustment of the terms of these grants was a matter of importance to both the governors and the governed, and that the length of time allotted for payment, as well as the value of the total grant, can be viewed as indices of the strength, or weakness, of the lord's position relative to that of his subjects. (Herbert's efforts in the Principality appear to have been equally successful in this respect.) At Llanstephan in 1434-5 the grant for redemption was worth £40 and was to be discharged in five installments. The lordship was being farmed in 1464-5, but the agreement with the farmers specifically

1. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, U. of Wales Press, 1963, pp. 36-48. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', Chapter II. Penry Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I, University of Wales Press, 1958, chapter I.

reserved the fine of the sessions to the lord. The sessions had been dissolved in September 1463 and the farmers were consequently charged with two of the five installments of the £40 granted. Fines of 1,000 and 20 marks were granted to Herbert in 1466 by the tenants of Newport/Wentloog and the borough of Newport: these sums were to be paid off over four years. The current charge in this respect - of £170 - was identical with that of 1447-8. Finally, at Chepstow, in 1477-8 the Receiver was charged with £40 as two installments of a fine of 200 marks granted for the dissolution of the sessions: there would seem to have been six terms in this case.¹

Other subsidies:

On occasion a lord would take further, extra-ordinary grants from his tenants. Lord Herbert may have relied on the general notion that a country ought to contribute to its defence when he extracted £145 from Pembroke. The rubric on the 1461-2 Treasurer's account stresses the unusual character of the grant, which was 'the gift of the country there in the name of a subsidy for the wages of the soldiers by divers persons voluntarily given [and] not accustomed ...'² Herbert also

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568 and 1508. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 225-6.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564. Pembroke contributed £53. Other sums were received from Walwyn's Castle; the tenants of Tenby; Carew and Angle; Newton; Stakepdl, and the lands of Sir Richard Ros and those of Richard Cradock.

succeeded in obtaining a 'gift' of £200 from Newport/Wentloog in 1465, over and above the fine for the dissolution of the sessions.¹

Welsh rents and dues:

The native tenants who lived in the Welshries owed rents which were based upon Celtic maintenance renders, already commuted in part by the time of the Conquest.²

The gwestfa:

The 'gwestfa' was a commuted, Celtic, maintenance render usually borne by the free, native population. By commutation, this render came to assume the character of the main rent for land.³

The rent was assessed on a territorial basis; the gwestfa unit paying a sum of £2.13s.4d. a year at each of four terms.⁴ The 1465-6 account for Llandovery provides us with the best information relating to this rent to be found in the Herbert estate material. The lordship

1. In addition to the grants identified above, there are two on the accounts which cannot be precisely classified: these are found on the accounts for Llandovery and Haverford. At Haverford a £60 gift of the country was charged in 1456-7. The grant was split into two parts: one half being laid on the town, and the other on the rest of the lordship. Discharge was at the rate of £20 a year. In 1465-6 the two commotes of Llandovery were charged with parts of a grant of 200 marks, which had been made the previous year by the 'tenants and residents'. Payment was spread over four terms and three accounting years. Commote Perfedd was to bear £80 of the £133 grant. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1562. Newport R.O. MS. B/90/004.
2. In certain areas - especially in west Wales - Welsh freeholders also owed certain services, as well as incidents like suit of mill and amobr. In addition to their chief rents, the Welsh might also owe dues for agistment.
3. As was often the case, the term gwestfa in fact covered a number of old dues which had been commuted, as well as the gwestfa payment proper. Sometimes a specific gwestfa rent escaped inclusion in the assized rent and is found charged in respect of the Christmas term.
4. Professor Rees states that this was the rate in Cardiganshire, as well as in the Towy Valley commotes. At Kilvey the tenants of the bedellry three payments of £1.13s.11½d a year. The Christmas installment was called a 'gwestfa', but the second and third payments were only defined by a reference to the date of payment, 'ad kalend May' and at Michaelmas. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts.; D.L. 29/651/10531. W. Rees, op.cit., p. 203.

contained two commotes - Hirfryn and Perfedd; the latter being subdivided into four 'maenors'. Both commotes were held by populations of predominantly free Welshmen. The rent of gwestfa was worth £6 in the bedellry of Hirfryn. In Commote Perfedd the maenors were charged separately; £4.12s.6d. being charged in Myddfai; £5.6s.8d. each in Llanddeusant and Wynfe, and £4.5s.4d. in Maenorbabon. In the cases of Llanddeusant and Wynfe, it would seem that Professor Rees' equation of two gwestfa units with a maenor holds. So far as the other two maenors are concerned, there may have been deductions made for escheated lands and other properties no longer charged. Finally, the forest account was also charged with gwestfa rents worth £4.12s.¹

The hildovraeth:

Literally, the 'hildovraeth' means 'the product of the dofraeth'. The latter was a custom whereby the Celtic royal household quartered itself on a district for a period. The free inhabitants appear to have quickly escaped the inconvenience by making substitute food renders; but the non-tribesmen and unfree continued to bear the obligation in its old form. By the fifteenth century, however, the dofraeth was an oat rent which was often exclusively the liability of the unfree. In Commotes Hirfryn and Perfedd however this rent was demanded of a majority of the free tenants, and was assessed on their holdings. Since the rent was not charged in the case of tenants who performed hauling service to the castle, it may have included other commuted obligations, which would also help to explain its unusually high value in these commotes. In

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562

Myddfai the rent - which fell due on the 20th July - was charged at 282 bushels of oats, which were valued at £4.12s.6d. Llanddeusant owed 120 bushels valued at £5.6s.8d; Wynfe 200 bushels worth £4, and Maenorvabon 180 bushels valued at £3.4s. It will be noticed that in two cases the valuations - which seem unrelated to the quantities - were the same as the gwestfa payments. In Hirfryn 360 bushels were charged, again at the same value as the gwestfa - that is, £6.¹

Bottellewe and the potura satellitorum:

'Bottellewe' - or 'the food of the band' - was probably in origin a communal contribution towards the maintenance of the Celtic serjeantry.² The payment, from being a servile burden, came to be exacted from all the inhabitants of a Welsh district in proportion to their rents. In return for their police services, the serjeants had received food and lodging from the country, or a money payment for each official calculated on a daily basis. Although the serjeant's office was often dispensed with, lords tended to retain the fees 'which continued to be exacted until long after...under the name of serjeant-silver or boiteulu'.³

At Llandovery this rent was charged at the rate of £2.6s.8d. in Hirfryn

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562. Wm. Rees, op.cit., p. 226-7. The Emlyn (Cilgerran) tenants were charged with £2.4s. (the value of 22 crannocks of oats) as the rent of 'hildestva' payable at Christmas. Two pounds were also charged for 'the monies forthcoming of hilwestva at the Christmas term', which perhaps indicates that only part of the due had then been commuted. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568 and 1569. Oat rents were also payable at Kilvey and Loughour P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts.: DL.29/651/10531.
2. After the Conquest serjeants, or 'satellites' as they were sometimes called, are usually to be found in Welsh districts, and were probably, in some cases, the official descendants of the Welsh peace-keepers.
3. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 103-7. Serjeant-silver was payable on the 1st May at Landimore and in the Welshries of Supra-Basco and Sub-basco. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; DL 29/651/10531.

and £12 in Perfedd.¹ At Oysterlowe (Llanstephan) the rent charge stood at over £8 in 1434-5. The rents were paid at four terms; two roughly equivalent sums being payable at Christmas and in June, and about £2.6s. in September and May. Only in the case of the May rent is any information supplied as to the type of rent involved. It was clearly a commuted food rent of the bottellewe kind, for the rubric describes it as the 'potura satellitorum'.² Sergeantry was paid at Crickhowell on 1st August.³

Commorth:

In its widest sense, a 'commorth' was an aid; usually in the form of a food render or money-payment. On the accounts however commorth usually means a cattle render by the Welsh community of a lordship. It was often the most important rent in those Welshries where gwestfa was not charged. At Crickhowell the custom occurred every third year. In 1445/6 the Welsh reeve was charged with £4.15s.6d. as the 'commorth in monies', while the collector of the English rents answered for the 'commorth of cows'; the value of 21½ beasts being charged at the rate of 8s. each.⁴ At Emlyn (Cilgerron) commorth was charged every year.⁵ Commorth was also charged in the lordship of Llanstephan; but only every

1. It was payable at Christmas; the Annunciation (25th March) and the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24th June) N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 389.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 6.
5. In 1464-5 and 1475-6 eleven cows were charged at £3.13s.4d. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568 and 1569.

third year. The custom had moreover been adapted to take account of the local, pastoral conditions. Each Llanstephan tenant having 10 sheep paid one to the lord in May. At Penrhyn - the Welshry of the lordship - the tenants were allowed 20 sheep before one was owed as commorth. Away from the marshland pastures of the peninsular, the commorth took the more usual form.¹

Penkeised;

'Penkeised' was charged at Trayne Clinton (Llanstephan) in 1434-5 at 56s.8d. 'Pencais' was the Welsh term for the master-serjeant who controlled the satellites. The due may thus have been a commuted maintenance render. Alternatively, it may represent a communal payment for the farm of this office (The due had apparently been in decay for several years by 1434-5).²

It may be noted in conclusion that the Welsh tenantry were also, in some cases, responsible for finding the lordship's officers. At Maenor Llanddeusant (Llandovery) a wage had had to be allowed to the accountant

1. Thus at Trayne Clinton £1.6s.8d. was charged each year as the value of 4 cows. At Machen (Newport) the custom occurred every other year, and seems to have long been a monetary rent by the mid-fifteenth century. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563. At Crickhowell, for instance, the Bedell's office and those of five foresters were farmed out. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 12, 3, 6, 8, 9, 1509 and 2610.

because the man who had been 'elected' to serve as bedell had preferred not to serve and had been fined. Notes were added to the entry to the effect that this would not be allowed in future; presumably referring to the wage rather than the practice.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562. The unwillingness of tenants to take up offices had two main causes. Firstly, those offices which had been supported by the fees and dues of the area had often lost much of their value by the fifteenth century. Administrations were thus forced to 'allow' the farms of these offices, and even to pay wages to their officers. But offices had not only lost the most valuable of their advantages; they could also be positively dangerous to their holders. Thus, in 1434-5 we read on the Coytrath account of Henry Cadogan, a late Bedell of East Pembroke, who was made a fugitive and exiled because of his official debts. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563.

III Court Profits

The impression given by Table II of the varying significance of court profits is a true one. Judicial profits could be of considerable importance one year, and only worth a few shillings the next. The most important judicial profit has already been discussed, that is, the fine for the dissolution of the great sessions. We must therefore turn our attention to the less-important courts and their profits.

The hundred courts:

The hundred court was the basic public court: its primary concern was with the policing and defence of the hundred. Twice a year the court assembled for the sheriff's turn and it was on these occasions that most of the court's important business was transacted. Customary payments were received; the tithings inspected; presentments against the Crown received, and minor offences dealt with on the spot.¹ The hundred court and its public - or 'leet' - jurisdiction often fell into private hands. This had been the case with the hundred court of Carhampton, which Herbert took over from the Lutterells. In 1465-6 we are given some information about the profits accruing from the court's monthly sessions. Of the charge of £11.11s., court perquisites

1. The court's jurisdiction extended to the less serious criminal offences, like battery and the wounding of animals. It also dealt with many civil cases, ranging from trespass to the very common cases of debts worth less than 40s. The hundred court's administrative duties centred upon the lucrative inspection of the area's police and military organization. It was also involved in some economic regulation; and was the location of special enquiries and the place where government and private documents were published. H.M. Cam, The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls, London 1930.

accounted for £7.13s; cert rents for £2.15s; the fines of suitors for just over £1, and the fines on taverns and the value of strays sold for most of the residue.¹ In 1478-9 the hundred account also contains details of a 'court baron'; that is, a lordship's court for its free tenants. We can only guess to what extent the two jurisdictions - public and private - were kept separate.² There may have been a tendency for the number of sessions to decrease to the two most important meetings of the year. At Crickhowell, for instance, about 20 sessions seem to have been held in the 1430's and 1440's, but in 1477-8, 1479-80 and 1480-1 the sessions were down to 16, 8 and 5 respectively.³ At Rumney only 12 hundred courts a year were being held by the mid-fifteenth century.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557. The 'perquisites' probably consisted of the fees paid for the aid of the court and for permission to settle out-of-court, and the fines of those who lost their cases. The 'fines of the suitors' were either the sums charged for the relaxation of the duty of attendance, or the fines levied on these suitors who failed to turn up. 'Cert rents' were monies due at the view-of-frankpledge.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558. The hundred courts in Pembroke town provide another example of a mixture of jurisdictions: in 1434-5 the proceeds of 23 sessions seem to have included sums paid as reliefs. That the Castlemartin hundred court was also being used for private purposes is very clear from an inspeximus of the record of that court relating to the creation of an entail in the mid-fourteenth century. B.M. Sloan Charter 32/5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563.
3. In 1559 the custumal was probably stating a theoretical position when it described the hundreds as being held fortnightly. The court's jurisdiction covered all pleas real and personal; except those committed on the day on which the leet court of Blaenllyfni was held. (This reference to the court of the chief lord is perhaps meaningless for Crickhowell had been promoted to a direct relationship with the Crown under Edward IV). N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 389, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610.
4. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, p. 189 Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

Borough and fair courts;

Little can be deduced from the accounts as to the business or number of sessions of town courts. At Tenby there appear to have been three courts functioning in 1434-5. Apart from the hundred courts, twenty-five courts - possibly borough courts - were held and 10 piepowder courts. At Haverford the town reeve answered for the hundred and mercantile courts. The latter do not seem to have been very important; either at Haverford or Pembroke.¹ At Crickhowell on market days and the fair day proclamation was made concerning pleas of piepowder by the portreeve or the cachepole: these were determined that day in 'the hundred of piepowder'. At Swansea the profits of the mercantile courts had been leased with the rest of the seigneurial rights over trade in the 1440's.²

The hallmoots:

The manorial court to which the unfree owed suit does not seem to have been very common in the fifteenth century, at least not in its pure form. The decline in the direct exploitation of the demesne must have removed much of the reason for such a court's existence as an independent body. A hallmoot is however mentioned at Berton (Chepstow) in 1477-8, when 2 sessions were held and a charge of £1.6s. produced.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1565, 1566, and 1569.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 389. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531.

A hallmoot was also functioning at Crickhowell late in the fourteenth century, its revenues coming mainly from the forfeitures of tenants and the sale of honey and wax. The court continued to be listed as a potential but unproductive source of revenue for some years after 1430-1. The 1559 custumal recorded that the indictments of the parker were determinable in the 'lord's Almote' by the verdict of the good tenants there. It seems probable however that the business of the hallmoot proper had in fact been transferred to the monthly court of the lordship, or to a session of the hundred court, by Herbert's time. Although courts continued to function at Pencarn, Dowlais and Dyffryn manors (Newport), they had apparently failed at Stow and Machen by 1477-8.¹

The courts-baron:

In theory, the free tenants of a lordship owed suit to a court known as the court baron: in practice, they probably attended special sessions of the ordinary, manorial court. Specific references to these free courts are very rare on the accounts; but in 1478-9 the perquisites of the court baron were charged on the Carhampton Hundred account. The annotation reveals that these perquisites consisted of the free tenants' fines, which, as the 1465-6 account makes clear, were paid for the relaxation of the duty of attendance.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509, 2610 and 389. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 194, 200, 207, 210 and 215.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1558. The Court of the Castle Gate in Pembroke County was probably the court-baron of that lordship. In 1434-5 it sat about once a fortnight, and the charge in East and West Pembroke was worth about £10. George Owen described the Court of the Castle Gate as 'the meanest court of the .. County' and 'the court of the manor'. It had become extinct by 1603. Henry Owen, Owen's Pembrokeshire, Cymmrodorion Record Series No.1., London 1892, part 1, p. 31. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.

Forest courts;

Some lordships had forest courts; but explicit references to them, or their functions, are very rare. The items charged on the Kevyndryn forest (Cilgerran) account however suggest the existence of such a court: attachments in the forest were charged in 1434-5 and 1464-5, while pannage was another forest issue which required some machinery of assessment. Leases of land and pasture in the forest - which also seem to have been the forester's responsibility - were very probably negotiated in a court. Thirteen courts were held in the forest at Llandovery in 1465-6: the charge consisting of the court perquisites; the proceeds of the pannage of pigs in the forest, and some forest and Welsh rents. In many cases, the lordship probably did not possess a forest court as such, but used an existing court for the exploitation of the woods and waste. At Chepstow, for instance, the Bedell's court seems to have been used in this way. Although the court was probably primarily the lordship's court for its free tenants, in 1482-3 'two Wodspeches' were charged at £1.8s. and the details entered on the court roll. Moreover, the same year a new rent was charged under this head for a 'new assart'.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568, 1562, 1508 and 1510. A 'wodspech' was perhaps a rent paid in return for wood. Professor Rees notes that 'the customary tenants of Pentirch (Strigoil) each gave one bushel of oats to the Chief Forester at Michaelmas and one halfpenny to the forester every eight weeks, receiving for the same period a load of brushwood'; W. Rees, *op.cit.*, p. 121. 'Pechis' might thus signify 'peck'; the 'woodpeck' being the name of a rent of the type described above.

Foreign courts:

In lordships with appendant Welshries there are references to 'foreign' courts. These were the courts held for the Welsh tenants—or perhaps more precisely for the tenants in the less-Anglicised areas of the lordship. The monthly court held for the Welshry of Carmarthen County may be referred to as a guide to the sort of business handled in these commotal courts: while felonies were strictly reserved to the Great Sessions, pleas of trespass, debt and covenant, as well as minor offences against the peace, were heard. In addition, heriots were assessed there and escheats re-sold.¹ References to these courts among the Herbert records are commonest so far as the western Welsh estates are concerned. In 1456-7, for instance, the Itinerant Bailiff of Haverford was responsible for collecting the perquisites of 6 foreign courts and 13 (monthly) foreign courts: in 1462-3²⁶/(fortnightly) and 13 (monthly) sessions of the foreign courts were recorded. In Haverford's case the foreign courts were merely those held outside the borough: the distinction was a territorial one; not one of nationality or tenure. At the monthly foreign court held in March 1430, for example, representatives of some of the most important local families – a Malefaunte and a Baret among them – witnessed a recovery by Richard Cradock. (A distinction between the tenants of the non-burghal area on grounds of nationality and tenure may however account for the two types of foreign court – the monthly and fortnightly.) So far as business was concerned there was probably little difference between the lordship's courts. In theory, the Great Sessions creamed off the

1. Sir John Lloyd, History of Carmarthenshire, Cardiff 1935, Vol. I., pp. 215-9.

more serious offences, but, in practice, this court's business must often have devolved on the inferior courts by reason of the dissolution of the superior body. There would of course have been differences of emphasis and of importance between the various courts - the borough courts' jurisdiction would, for instance, extend to mercantile questions, and there may have been a distinction of importance between the monthly and more regular sessions, both within and outside the borough.¹

In Coytrath there seems to have been a distinction between the Welsh courts and the foreign courts.²

There were also certain specialist courts in west Wales: by the mid fifteenth century their significance seems generally to have been very slight. In Pembroke County the vital courts seem to have been the County court and the Court of the Castle Gate.³ These were - or had been - supplemented by the Court of Fresh Force - the possessory court of the lordship; the Sergeant's

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1565 and 1566. B.M. Sloan Charter, 32:8

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

3. The latter has already been referred to. The County Court sat 13 times during 1434-5. Its jurisdiction seems to have been concerned with the more serious felonies, as well as offences against the statutes. In 1376 Nicholas de Audley was ordered to do suit to the County and the Earl of Pembroke's rights in Audley's lordship of Cemaes were rehearsed: the Earl was to have cognizance of rape; arson in peacetime; forestalling; treasure trove, appeals of manslaughter and other felonies; the forswearing of felons in church and the office of coroner concerning manslaughter. The Earl was also empowered to hear the 'wrongs and trespasses' of the lord of Cemaes and pleas of Fresh Force. According to George Owen, the County Court heard all pleas of the Crown and pleas real by writ under the Earl's seal. In 1434-5 the bedells of East and West Pembroke were charged with £20 in respect of the proceeds of the 13 sessions of the County Court. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563. H. Owen, op.cit., Part 1, p. 10. C.Cl.R., (1374-77), p. 386.

Sessions, and the Court of Obligations. There was only one meeting of the Court of Fresh Force during 1434-5 and the proceeds were quite insignificant. The Sergeant's Sessions - which was perhaps a court analagous to the Justiciar's Tourn in the Principality - assembled twice in 1434-5: the proceeds were once again unimpressive. The Court of Obligations had cognizance of cases involving acknowledged debts: there were no sessions of this court in 1434-5. The accounts for the County covering the period 1479-81 verify the impression given by the 1434-5 account that the specialist courts were all but defunct.¹

It should be noted that there were several courts with very wide powers of public jurisdiction under Herbert's control. The 'royal court' of Magor and Raglan's court- after the re -constitution of that lordship as a regalian one in 1465 - must have had jurisdictions which were similar to those of the highest courts of Pembroke County.

The accounts are usually silent as to the nature of a lordship's court and the profits which flowed from it. Where we do possess explicit information however, we rarely find courts like those described above. If there was a typical court, it seems to have been a body which combined the various functions of the courts described above as the character of the lordship demanded. Thus, a court baron's function might be combined with that of a hundred court, or a court baron used as an occasional forest court. But although the local court was, above all, a body fashioned by local circumstance, its functions and profits can be generalized about.

1. Ministers' Accounts; S.C. 1208/9 and 1208/11. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.

The local court was above all the institution concerned with the lordship's land. Entry-fines and reliefs were clearly one of the major sources of local, judicial income. At Carhampton Berton in 1461-2 of £5.12s. charged in respect of entry-fines and court perquisites, £4.9s. came from entry-fines; fines paid to secure reversions, and a fine paid for some pasture. In 1465-6 £5.11s. was charged, of which entry fines accounted for £5. Conveyancing profits were clearly of importance throughout the barony, for at Minehead in 1461-2 land fines were charged at £4.16s; wood sales at £4.10s. and court perquisites at £5.3s.¹ Other evidence of this kind is rare. It is however perhaps indicative that a tenant's entry fine accounted for the bulk of the few shillings charged at St Ishmaels (Haverford) in 1456-7. What information we possess about the nature of the monthly court at Castle Walwyn seems moreover to stress the court's function in relation to land: the three notes relating to the court profits of 1463-4 are concerned with heriots and a relief. In 1475-6 the judicial charge on the Bedell's account was split into two parts: a small sum was charged for the court 'issues'; but there was a nil charge against the second item, which was concerned with the profits of 'wardships, marriages, reliefs, entry-fines and heriots'.² Heriots are common - but usually not very significant - features of the accounts.³

1. In 1465-6 there were no wood sales: the profits of the 15 sessions were worth just over £13, of which land fines were expected to yield £7.10s. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1567 and 1569.
3. At Carhampton Berton the sale of heriots and strays only amounted to 15s. in 1461-2, when the charge in respect of entry-fines and court perquisites was £5.12s. In 1465-6 heriots accounted for 1s. of a total judicial charge of £5.11s. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.

The other incidents of tenure were of lesser importance. In west Wales the marriage due was a notable exception, but this was often farmed out.¹ The court was however probably the location for the yearly sale of any customary works still owed: it was also the place where fines were laid for breaches of customary obligations.²

The court perquisites do not seem to have been of much importance, where they are differentiated from the general proceeds.³ Fines for minor criminal offences - like battery, and for the common civil cases of slander, debt and trespass probably composed the bulk of the perquisites. Sums paid for the aid of the court in land cases; fines for faulty pleading, and for lapses like the failure to repair property were also likely to figure among the general issues of the court.

The tenants' obligation to attend the court could also be made to yield a profit, for many tenants were willing to be fined for their non-attendance, or to pay a sum for the relaxation of their suit.⁴

1. The 'amobragium' was farmed at Llandovery for £2. This was the marriage due owed by a subject: the 'leyrwyf' - or fine for the incontinence of a daughter of an unfree tenant - was included in the farm. These dues had been exacted in Wales before the Conquest, but after that event they became more oppressive especially in west Wales, where they bore heavily on Welsh freemen. The system of farming was common and was much abused by the lessees.
2. Thus, at Crickhowell the Welsh tenants were fined for their lack of attention to the mill and its water-course. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.
3. At Carhampton Berton the perquisites were worth 8s. in 1461-2, and 1465-6. At East Quantoxhead the perquisites accounted for less than 3s. of a judicial charge of £7 in 1465-6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.
4. Free tenants paid £2.9s. a year in the mid 1460's to the bailiff of Carhampton Hundred - who was also the bailiff of the barony - 'for their suits'. At Haverford in 1462-3 fines on suitors - presumably for their non-appearance - accounted for 28s. of the £13.5s. judicial charge on the Itinerant-Bailiff's account. As the tenant of other lords, Herbert also paid these sums. In 1465-6, for example, the bailiff of Vexford (Dunster) was allowed 6d. which he had paid to the bailiff of Nettlecombe for the lord's suit of court in respect of certain lands. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1566.

The local court was also the body which safeguarded and exploited the lord's rights in the parks, forest and waste. Wood sales were sometimes relatively important items of a lordship's charge: such sales were often transacted in court. In 1461-2 the proceeds of the sale of timber, bark and turves were charged apart from the judicial proceeds at Carhampton Berton at 16s. However, in 1465-6 and 1478-9 these sums were included in the court proceeds. At Minehead - where the wood sales were charged separately - the charge amounted to £4.10s. in 1461-2, a not inconsiderable sum alongside court profits of £5 and land fines of £4.16s. The sale of wood seems to have been of special significance in the Monmouth area, where court profits were generally rather unimportant.¹ Similarly, short-term leases of agistment rights and pasture were often the court's business. Pannage payments were usually assessed in a special session of the court - the swine-moot - and the tenants' obligations entered upon its records.² The sale of

1. Court profits were of little value at Wyesham-Monmouth. They reached their highest level - so far as the evidence goes - in 1462-3 at about £1. Wood sales were however occasionally quite important: a sum of £10 was charged in 1464-5 and £8 in 1477-8. (There are moreover grounds for believing that not all the sales were within the scope of the bailiff's charge.) At Kilpeck (Herefordshire) wood sales were only charged at a few shillings in 1482-3, but it is clear from the account that they were potentially a much more important item. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557, 1558, 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508, and 1510.
2. Pannage and tak of pigs are the agistment dues met with most frequently. Pannage charges were often composed of money payments and the value of the animals taken on the lord's behalf. In Machen forest a tenant with one or two pigs redeemed them for 2d. each: those with more than two animals had to give the lord the best animal, or its value. Because of the erratic supply of mast, this was necessarily an intermittent source of revenue. In the absence of judicial and quasi-judicial charges of much significance on the properties of the Monmouth area, pannage assumes an importance which is not matched by the value of the proceeds. At Dingestow in 1463-4, for example, the charge was composed entirely of rents, except for the value of a heriot (1s.6d.) and pannage at 19s. In Kevyndryn forest (Cilgerran) pannage came well behind wood sales as a source of income in 1434-5; the sales being worth £2.17s. and pannage 12s. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1563.

honey and wax found in the forest, and the sale - often, in fact, a quasi-fine laid upon the owner - of impounded strays were less important elements of the court's charge.¹

The local court was finally the place where offices were sold and officials elected. In certain lordships, some of the commotal and local offices conferred lucrative, appendant rights to take fees from the country. Such offices were usually sold; although by the fifteenth century this system was somewhat in decline because of the increasing difficulty experienced by the lessees in raising the value of their offices from the country.²

1. At Llandovery the Receiver of 1465-6 was farming some of the forest and waste profits: as well as the pannage issues, he leased the right to the honey and wax for 2s. The right to the profits accruing from the sale of stray beasts was also farmed out: the farms, which covered both commotes of the lordship, were worth under 13s in rents. The values of strays appear fairly frequently among the court proceeds of Dunster and its members; but the proceeds were never significant. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562, 1556, 1557 and 1558.
2. At Crickhowell, for example, the Bedell was charged with the farms of the five foresters 'for their bailees', and with his own farm of 13s.4d. All the fifteenth-century accounts reveal the allowance of this farm to the Bedell 'by the lord's grace'. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610.

IV Commercial dues

The dues forthcoming from trade and industry could contribute significantly to a charge in the case of a lordship centred upon a busy port: in inland areas however these dues tended to be much less significant.

The commercial dues of Crickhowell were two-fold: there were the tolls and censes derived from the annual fair and the Thursday markets, and the issues of the tollcesters.¹ The tolls and censes were farmed in the 1430's and 1440's, but the tollcesters were collected by an official. The tolls were worth between £1.10s. and £2.6s.8d. during the period ^{1430/1-}1480/1: the tollcesters were charged at about £5 in 1430-1, but only £2.6s. in 1480-1. The lord's control over trade extended to the measures used: the standards against which weights were to be tested were established in the Castle at Crickhowell.

The situation at Chepstow was considerably different from that obtaining on the Brecon property. In 1477-8 the Customer owed nearly £20 in respect of the mercantile dues: the item on his account specifying the chensers' rents;² the proceeds of the ale-prise; the tolls on the sale of livestock; anchorage dues, and the customs on wine, salt, iron shoes, raisins, 'packs and other merchandises'. By 1482-3 these issues were no longer being exploited by an official, but had been farmed for £22 to the Receiver.³

1. The 'tollcester' was a levy on the brewing of ale: in 1447-8 the rate was 7d. for each brewing. In Pembroke town the lord was entitled to 7½ gallons of ale, or 5d. at his election, from every brew. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 9, 3, 6, 8, 12, 1509 and 2610 and 389.
2. 'Chensers' were landless persons, who paid a cense for the right to trade in a lordship.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.

Income from this source was clearly subject to considerable fluctuation. At Tenby in 1434-5 £6.12s was charged for the rents of the temporary burgesses and chensers,¹ while prises and tolls accounted for £2.8s. In 1475-6 the rents were only worth £4.2s.; but the prises and tolls were valued at over £10. The ale-prise; the tolls on the sale of horses, and customs on hides and woollen cloth were charged; but at considerably lower rates than in 1434-5. The bulk of the increased charge came from the customs on wine, salt, wheat and other merchandise landed by ships during 1475-6: these had either not been charged in 1434-5, or had been relatively insignificant in value. The considerable fluctuation at Haverford (see Table II) was connected with the varying profitability of the wine prise. The commercial dues there were two-fold, although the market tolls do not seem to have been very important. The wine-prise had not been charged in 1456-7¹ because no prisable ships ... were landing [there]. In 1462-3 however there was a charge of nearly £9.15s., the bulk of which was charged as the value of two casks of Spanish wine 'of a certain ship called the Christopher Berkeley'. By the custom of

1. The 'adventicii' and the 'sensarii'. In 1475-6 the rents of 80 burgesses 'de vento' at a shilling each were charged: the rubric suggests that these burgesses and the adventicii of 1434-5 were the same. Two shillings was also charged for the chensers' rents. The difference between the two groups is not completely clear. Dr. Griffiths however identified two similar groups of traders at Carmarthen in 1422-3: '... licences to buy and sell in [Carmarthen] to men living outside it amounted to twenty shillings at sixpence each. Moreover, there were men living in the town who, while they did not lease land by burgage tenure, did succeed in acquiring the considerable privileges of a burgess... by an annual fine. These were the burgesses "de vento"...'. These two classes of traders were perhaps the same as the adventicii and sensarii of Tenby. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1569. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 291.

the port, the lord took 2 of every 30 casks. The residue of this charge represents the custom on 4 casks of a Portuguese ship.¹

These commercial dues were thus of most importance along the coast of south Wales where some of Bristol's mercantile satellites were situated.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.
2. These ports - which also included ones on the coast of south-western England like Minehead, one of Dunster's members - were often active in the trade with Ireland, and the vessels of some of the ports - of which Haverford was one - had won a place in the wine trade with southern Europe. The inshore activity was also important: Welsh wool, hides and cloth were carried through these ports from the interior on their way to Bristol. E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', (in), Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, Edited by E. Power and M.M. Postan, London, 1966.

V Other profits:

On a few of Herbert's estates there were charges which proceeded from the lord's rights over the waste but did not involve agistment or estovers. Minerals were thus of some importance at Crickhowell; Roch (Haverford); Kilpeck (Herefordshire); in Coytrath Forest (Pembroke County) and at Swansea. Coal mines were farmed at Crickhowell, along with the right to burn lime; these farms contributing about £4 to the charge between 1430-1 and 1480-1. In 1430-1 the Receiver's account moreover reveals an attempt to exploit the iron deposits of the area.¹

The lord's rights over the roads which passed through his lordship could also be made to yield an income: a toll - 'cheminagium' or 'weygafol' - was thus commonly exacted from those passing through a forested region. He often also controlled the ferries within the area, and exacted tolls from those using the waters around his coasts.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610. In 1456-7 the Roch coal mine was farmed for £3.6s.8d., but in 1462-3 no-one could be found to take it. At Kilpeck in 1482-3 a small sum was raised from the lease of a stone quarry. The coal mines of Coytrath Forest - which were leased for £2.13s.4d. in 1434-5-were being let in 1529 for slightly less. The mines of Swansea and Kilvey were farmed in 1448-9 for £32, while lesser sums were being raised from lime and coal pits and at least one iron mill. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1566, 1510 and 1563. Henry Owen, A Calendar of the Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire, Cymmrodorion Record Series No. 7, London 1918, Vol. III, p.66. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/10531/651.
2. The ferry tolls at Llandovery were farmed for a total of £3.13s.4d. in 1465-6. Similarly, a half share in the Burton ferry (Pembroke) was let for £1.6s.8d. in 1434-5. The tolls of passage to the islands belonging to St. Ishmaels were leased for a few pence in 1456-7. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562, 1565 and 1563.

The seigneurial rights over the waste also extended to its animal life. At St Ishmaels in 1456-7 the right to take birds and great fish in and around the lordship's offshore islands was leased for 3s.4d. The rabbits of the islands were however reserved and the administration mounted a hunt which resulted in a charge of £3.17s. as the value of 2,318 carcasses sold, and another of £2.13s. for the proceeds of 3,120 pelts. By 1462-3 this item had however been included in a consolidated farm - worth £3.6s.8d. - which also included the rights of passage and agistment.¹

Finally, a word should be said about lands in ward and forfeited properties, for the issues of these properties could be quite important components of the charge. In Pembroke County in 1475-6 a charge of £1.11s. was added in respect of lands in ward and escheats. More important were the properties in Carew, Burton and Williamston, which appear on the same account and seem to have been held in ward: the charge in respect of these lands stood at £60. At Castle Walwyn in 1463-4 the issues of Malefaunte and Wogan lands in ward were worth £12.12s.²

1. At Cilgerran licences were sold to tenants with nets in the Teifi but this only yielded about 10s. in 1434-5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1566 and 1563.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 1567. Sir Nicholas Carewe had died in 1447; a writ of diem clausit extremum in respect of his Welsh properties being issued in October of that year. It may have been Sir Nicholas' son who died in 1466; leaving his son (Nicholas) a minor. C.F.R., (1461-71), pp. 187 and 189. C.F.R. (1445-52), p. 74.

These then were the main sources of Herbert's income from land. Based almost universally upon the revenues derived from rents and farms, the landed income was importantly supplemented by the fines and tallages laid upon local communities. The erratic profits of the courts were significant in some areas; but in others the proceeds were restricted in kind and not very valuable. The same is true of the commercial dues. Of the remaining sources, only wardships stand out as at all important.

* * * * *

Our view of the situation is however incomplete, for we have not yet attempted to discover the extent to which the items charged were in decay. This will not be an easy task. It is firstly difficult to gain any temporal perspective with so few accounts. Individual accounts, it is true, often supply perspective; but it is usually best ignored. Thus, in the case of the Haverford town account protestations that this or that property 'used to be worth' much more than the charge shown give one the impression of decay - and often of decay of a drastic order. However, the rental information was already about a century old in the 1460's and, in this context, the impression ceases to have much value.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.

Other difficulties arise from the nature of the information which
Thus,
will be used. /the decay allowances found on the discharge side of most
of the accounts have little absolute value and must be related to the
charge information which they qualify. Of special importance is the
date of the rental in use. A large decay figure is only to be expected
where the rental was very old. Moreover, in such cases, the charge
usually carries supplementary rents and increases which, to some
extent, offset the decay. For example, the basic assize rent item on
the 1475-6 Pembroke town account was worth £118s. From the decay
information, it is clear that this rent charge dated from before the
Glyŷdwr Rebellion. Excluding a few administrative allowances, the
decayed rents were worth £3.8s. On the other hand, supplementary
and increased rents worth about £2.18s. had built up by 1475-6. The
fairly high level of decay is thus more of a reflection of the age of
the rental than an index of decline, and clearly the loss of original
rent items had, to some extent, been offset by the new rents.¹

(Generally speaking, the accounts for the west Walian estates are very
much more fossilized than those for the properties which the Herbert
family had gathered together in the Monmouth area.)² A second
reservation concerns the meaning of 'decay'. To the medieval accountant
it clearly meant more than a loss of rent because tenants could not be
found, or because of a tenant's failure to pay his rent in full. Items
reserved for seigneurial use - and therefore withdrawn from the rental

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

2. While the Pembroke County accounts reveal little evidence of rental
renewal between 1434-5 and 1475-6, the main Wyesham-Monmouth rental
was renewed in 1449 and 1459. Subsidiary rentals - in respect of
particular lands acquired in the Wyesham-Monmouth area - were renewed
about the time of acquisition. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1569, 1593,
1594 and 1586.

charge - were thus often described as 'in decay'. Properties undergoing repair were frequently described as decayed.¹ Decays might also result from a seigneurial grant.² A final qualification concerns the durability of decays. While some items of the rent charge became decayed and remained so for long periods, others were only ever partially decayed, and their decay lives were often short.³ Where there is information about the nature and durability of decays, it is clear that in many cases they were nothing more than the necessary effects of a lively, local landmarket and the mortality of tenants. In short, decay allowances are by no means necessary indices of abnormality, or economic malaise.

Bearing in mind these reservations about the material being used, to what extent were the charges decayed? The extent of the decay seems generally not to have been very significant. Haverford, with decay allowances and respites worth about £21 in 1456-7 and £17 in 1462-3, was one of the worst cases; the tenants' rents only being expected to yield about £90 in all.⁴ The incidence of decay was however very uneven

1. For example, see Fenton (Castle Walwyn): N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1567.
2. See Caerleon: N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1587.
3. At Wyesham-Monmouth the information exists for a close look at the decay allowances. If we exclude items of decay caused by the seigneurial use of properties, we find that of about £2.16s. in decay in 1454-5, only items valued at 15s.6d. remained in decay in 1462-3. Between 1462-3 and 1466-7 the £3.13s. of true decay similarly shrank to about £2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1583 and 1586.
4. The £90 does not however include the value of properties farmed. The total annual charge of 1462-3 stood at £135. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.

within the lordship. In 1456-7 the Leweston charge of nearly £16 was decayed to the value of £9.11s: at Camrose, on the other hand, decay amounted, at most, to £3.10s. as against a charge of over £17. The small decays of Haverford town and St Ishmaels are moreover qualified by the evidence of repair work in these lordships.¹ Much of the decay at Haverford was traditional: in 1462-3 a sum of just over £3 was listed - but disallowed - in respect of decayed properties in Leweston, Ancellislade, Pelcomb and elsewhere, 'according to the old allocation as in the account ending at Michaelmas in the eighth year of Henry IV'.

For most of the lordships for which we possess accounts, the evidence of decay is much less damning. Cilgerran in 1464-5 had decay worth £1.6s. in a rent charge of over £19.² At Crickhowell the total allowances and respites for decay - including the dubious allowances for over-charging on the parker's account - only amounted to 10% of the total charge in 1480-1.³ Decay at Wyesham-Monmouth seems to have accounted for between 10% and 17% of the annual charge in the 1450's and 1460's. This fairly high level of decay is largely to be explained by the allowances for the seigneurial use of land: in 1462-3 of just over £7 allowed, £3.10s can be so assigned.⁴ The light decay allowances of Wonastow seem

1. Chepstow had decay of this type too. In 1482-3 decay allowances were worth under £14; as against a current charge of £197. In the town about 1/3rd of the rent charge was decayed for lack of tenants. At Tidenham, on the other hand, only about £2 of a £34 rent charge was lost. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2610
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508 and 1510.

fairly typical of those of many of the south-eastern estates: in 1480-1 decay allowances were worth less than 13s; the current charge was worth about £21.¹ Dunster and its members also had decays which are insignificant in value and easily qualified.² Decay allowances on the Newport accounts were very few in 1465-6 and not very significant. There were items which had been removed from the charge because of decay - like the Machen mills, which had been destroyed during the Rebellion or had fallen into disrepair since - but it seems probable that the new leases had, to some extent, made up for these items.³ In short, decay does not seem to have been a problem in most areas. In west Wales, in particular, the extent of the decay seems to arise from the age of the rentals in use, rather than from economic malaise or inefficient management.

There are however some grounds for believing that the decay position deteriorated on Herbert properties after 1469. At Magor, where the rental had been renewed in 1464, about £2.10s. was being respited in 1482-3 for vacant properties, and the arrears sum respited - £10 - suggests that the decay had originated around 1478-9. The Magor annual charge was however worth about £42.⁴ At Wyesham-Monmouth the level of decay

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557 and 1558.

3. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, p. 167.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

was markedly higher by the late 1470's than it had been in the 1460's: respites for vacant properties consuming £10 to £14 in the three years prior to Michaelmas 1482, and £11 in 1482-3. The 1482-3 annual charge stood at nearly £68.¹ At Crickhowell the period 1469-72 seems to have seen the origin of many of the decays being respited in the later 1470's.² The arrears information also bears out the view that the 1470's were generally less-favourable years for some of the Herbert properties than the 1460's had been.³

The question of which charge items were decayed is more difficult to answer. In many cases the decay allowances do not stipulate the individual items in decay. However, an impression can be gleaned from the cases where this does happen, and we have moreover the evidence from the charge side of items not charged, or reduced in value.

Perhaps the most striking evidences of decay are those relating to the mills. At Crickhowell the fulling-mill, which had been farmed for £3 in the 1380's and 1430-1, was, by 1445-6, being described as ruinous.⁴ At Machen manor (Newport) three mills had been burnt during Glyndwr's Rebellion, and two others were ruinous by the 1440's. But the situation at Newport/Wentloog was not uniformly bad, and the charge in respect of those mills which were still in operation in the 1460's was quite valuable.⁵ In 1465-6 the Carhampton Berton charge included

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508 and 1510.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1510 and 2610.

3. The arrears information will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1, 3, and 6. On the other hand, the grist mills of the lordship appear to have held their value until 1480-1.

5. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, p. 214. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

the farms of four grist mills: by the late 1470's one of the mills was empty for lack of takers, and another had lost about half its value. On the other hand, the two most important mills had increased in value, and an additional two mills appear on the account.¹ In 1434-5 at Coytrath (Pembroke) two mills - worth £1.6s. - were totally decayed, and two fulling mills charged at £3 could only be leased for £2.6s.8d. In 1475-6 the two fulling mills still accounted for a mark of the decay; another fulling mill was held no longer to exist, and a further mill - valued at £1 - had been added to those in decay.² While the dates of decline are often difficult to establish and temporary withdrawals for repairs not always easy to isolate, it is fairly clear that the income from mills was often not as important a source as the charge information would suggest.

The accounts also suggest that the dues paid by the Welsh were less remunerative than the charge information would have us believe. At Llandovery the gwestfa payments seem to have been scaled-down,³ and it is also clear that the dofraeth had been adjusted since the fourteenth century.⁴ At Trayne Clinton (Llanstephan) the sum of £2.6s.8d. had been annually respited since 1422-3 in respect of the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557 and 1558.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1569.

3. See pages 130-1.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1562. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 226-7.

custom known as Penkeyset, which had clearly become defunct. Moreover, the farm of the office of 'sudellar' could not be farmed at Oysterlowe, and at St Clears part of the rent for the common lands had to be allowed as decayed.¹

The raising of customary rents and dues also seems to have been generally difficult. The 159 works charged at 2d. each on the Mathenny account were only yielding 1d. each by the late 1470's. In Coytrath Forest part of the £3 charged for the Metesilver had to be respited from the 1420's because the tenants of two settlements were threatening to leave their holdings rather than pay the due.² At Minehead (Dunster) in 1461-2 a customary rent called Weysilver valued at 13s.4d. was only yielding 3s.8d.³ The tenants of the bedellary of Machen had secured a temporary commutation of their Botellegh rent in the late fourteenth century. By the mid-fifteenth century the suspension of the due during a minority had apparently been all but conceded and the administration may well have been fighting a losing battle to exact the due during the lord's full estate.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1563 and 1569.

3. At Stradewy/Tretower the Welsh bedell's account of 1482-3 bore relatively heavy decay allowances. Decays worth £1.13s. were allowed; the allowances relating to the assize rents, works and dues of the Welsh customary tenants. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1510.

4. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, p. 220, n.2. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

Forest issues seem to have been specially subject to decay.

In 1482-3 at Stradewy/Tretower the farm of the forest of Pase - charged at 6s.8d. - was allowed to the tenants by the Countess; perhaps as an admission of its uncollectability.¹ The Coytrath accounts had heavily-decayed charges in 1434-5 and 1475-6: decayed mills, vacant lands, and a defective customary due reduced the value of the charge quite considerably in both years.² At Crickhowell the forest revenues - from tak; pannage; wood sales; the fishery and agistment— seem to have declined in value between 1430-1 and 1480. (But since pannage and wood sales were important and fluctuating sources of income our conclusions must be guarded.)³

The charges in respect of avowry tenants and chensers were frequently unrealistic. The former type of tenant, in particular, had largely disappeared by the mid-fifteenth century.⁴ Avowry rents were not yielding anything at Tidenham (Chepstow) and Maendiffi by the late fifteenth century.⁵ There were still avowry

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1569.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610.

4. 'The onset of the Black Death .. proved the final death-knell of [avowry] ... those of the avowry men who did not die from the Plague were able to take advantage of the acute shortage of labour ... to convert their legal and economic status into that of a freeholding tenant holding land at a rent.' R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 86.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1510, 1509, 1589 and 1590.

tenants in some of Swansea's members in the 1440's, but they were clearly less important than they had once been. In 1447-8 there were three avowry tenants at Rumney (Newport): by 1465-6 only one was being charged for.¹ At Castlemartin (Pembroke), on the other hand, 34 avowry tenants were charged for in 1434-5 and this number had only decreased slightly by 1475-6.² In 1462-3 at St Ishmaels (Haverford) most of the chensers' rents charged appear as decays in the allowance section.³

Evidence also exists which suggests a decline so far as the rents and dues associated with the town are concerned. The decay at Cilgerran was thus concentrated in the settlements of the lordship. In Cilgerran town itself 11½ burgages had been enclosed in a meadow at some date after 1434-5 and before 1475-6, and were consequently not charged in the latter year. The decay allowances - which were only worth nearly 4s. in all - concerned another 5½ burgages which were reputed to be totally decayed. Finally, nearly 9s. was respited on the account because of decays and decreases of rent. In 1475-6 the rent charge at Cilgerran stood at just over £3.⁴

1. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 188-9. Newport R.O. Ms B/90/004. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1569.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563 and 1569.

Heavy town decay is recorded at Stradewy/Tretower and at Chepstow.¹ At Pembroke and Swansea the decay clearly had a political, rather than economic, causation.² In Llandovery nearly 10s., charged on the town account as an increase on the rents 'in vento', was withdrawn because 'none of that type of profit occurred there'; while the Sathvey official disclaimed all responsibility for the tolls of the yearly fair.³ The Bedell of the Englishry of Swansea and Gower only answered for £2.10s. as the issues of picage and the tolls of the area in 1448-9, excusing himself for their low value by the plea that few foreign merchants came into the country. The market tolls at Machen (Newport) were leased for £2 in 1447-8, but the charge was down to £1 by 1465-6. The Newport borough charge was relatively decayed compared with the other properties of the lordship; but, despite some entries relating to properties destroyed during the Rebellion, many of the losses were as indicative of growth as of contraction. By the device of farming the borough, Herbert anyway rid himself of the need to allow rents to his officials and for properties in decay.⁴

1. Of the Tretower town rent charge of £2.4s., well over a half was in decay. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.
2. Of the items in decay in 1475-6, 8½ burgages had been enclosed within Pembroke Castle; 3 ½ had been in a ruinous state since the Glyndwr Rebellion; another 3 had been torn down at the same time because they stood too close to the walls for the town's security, and 11½ burgages had lately been displaced for the better defence of the Castle on Herbert's arrival in September, 1461. Some of the decay on the Swansea town account were the consequence of the enlargement of the Castle. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1562.
4. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 214 and 222. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts; D.L. 29/651/10531.

The general impression given by these shreds of information is that the assize rents and farms were becoming increasingly important as a source of income. In a number of cases, the effect of the decay allowances seems to have been to erode the subsidiary and less-important elements of the charge. As the income from mills; forests and wastes; commercial dues and the less-important customary survivals became less significant, that from rents and farms was thrown into greater prominence. (This is not to suggest that the rent income was unaffected by the decays. On the contrary, the decay allowances were primarily concerned with qualifying the rent charges; but their effect was, in this instance, one of modification, not of termination.) The process of simplification had dearly reached different stages in different lordships. Some properties had never possessed very diversified charges, while others had simplified their charges at an earlier date. (To some extent, of course, the progress achieved in this respect ^{is directly} ~~was~~ related to the age of the charge information.)

But what evidences do the accounts contain relating to the expansion of the income? How did the lord, or his administrators, go about arresting any decline, and what positive steps were taken to increase the charges?

The rent and farm charge could be increased by the physical expansion of the properties available for leasing. At Wyesham-Monmouth, for example, Herbert added to the lands he held throughout the 1460's. In 1462-3 the rent charge was boosted by £10 by the acquisition of lands late of John Sergeant; a farm of under £6 being paid for these properties. By 1466-7 a further £2 had been

added to the rent charge for lands purchased from James Malibrook. (On William Herbert's death the rent charge slumped; primarily because Isabelle Sergeant took possession of her lands. She had however returned - or been forced to return - the lands by 1477-8.)¹

Expansion was also effected by taking in waste and forest land.

At Raglan in the late fourteenth century new rents added about £2.3s to the rent charge based on the 1364-5 rental. Of the 34 additional items, 22 mention new assarts - while others suggest that assarts were involved; the bulk of the leases had their origin about 1390-1.

Raglan was still being slightly enlarged at the expense of the waste and the woodland in the mid-fifteenth century.² New rents dating from after 1445-6 on the English rent collector's account at Crickhowell were clearly for parcels of ^{the} waste.³ As well as by purchasing, leasing and assarting, the amount of land held in an area was sometimes augmented by royal grant. The obvious example in this case is that of Raglan, where Lord Herbert and his heirs were granted six messuages and 120 acres of arable and pasture land, formerly parts of the royal lordship of Usk, by the grant of March 1465.⁴

1. Two respites on the 1469-70 account also suggest some administrative confusion and possibly an attempt by certain tenants to exploit the situation. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588 and 1508.
2. N.L.W. ^Badminton M.R., 1573 and 1578.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 89 and 12.
4. C.P.R., (1461-7), pp. 425-6. Most of the royal grants however gave the family interests in areas where it had previously held no estates; those which added to the family's existing properties were in the minority.

The charge could moreover be augmented by a diminution of the seigneurial demand for land, which would usually release demesne properties for leasing. There are indications on a number of accounts that the seigneurial needs shrank in the late 1470's and early 1480's. At Penrhos in 1463-4 the demesne lands were listed as worth £7, but only one close (worth under 10s) was in fact leased: in 1468-9 a greater proportion of the property was leased; the rents amounting to nearly £1.14s. By 1479-80 the value of the items leased seems to have fallen back to 14s; but additional rented properties brought the total rent charge to over £4. In 1480-1 the value of all the property leased rose sharply to £17, and remained at this level in 1481-2.¹

Attempts to increase the income from the estates by raising the values of existing charges have also left their trace on the accounts. Most of them, for instance, bear increases of rent. But the extent and occasions on which tenants' rents could be increased were probably limited; both by local custom - which we have seen probably applied to most of the tenants on the Herbert estates, if to differing degrees - ^{by} and the level of demand for land. It is however clear that the administration had a sharp eye where the incidental profits of land-holding were concerned.² Here again it is probable that Herbert's

1. At Llantilio in 1482-3 the charge was slightly increased by the farms of two meadows usually reserved for the lord's use: agistment dues in the park were also charged in 1477-8 and 1482-3, but not in 1463-4 and 1468-9. At Penrhos and Maindiffi the mills were exploited directly in the 1460's, but - perhaps significantly - had been farmed by the late 1470's. At Carhampton Berton the progressive increases in the proportion of the Caremore property leased seem to have reached their physical limit by the late 1470's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1508, 1510, 1509, 1589, 1590, 1556, 1557 and 1558.
2. On more than one occasion the accounts contain detailed marginal notes concerning entry-fines which were to be charged in the subsequent year, or years. See, for example, the case of Leweston (Haverford) in 1462-3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

administration worked within customary limits; although in certain cases the situation relating to heriots and entry-fines was probably more flexible. Demesne properties probably presented greater chances of raising the value of the income by frequent re-negotiation of terms. Thus, at Caldicot in 1482-3 100 acres of demesne land leased to tenants for £2.4s. bore an increase of just over £1.¹ But this policy could have the opposite effect: properties which were over-valued ran the risk of standing empty and an administration might be forced to reduce a charge.² In certain cases it is clear that fifteenth-century administrations preferred to ignore the flexibility of short-term leases in favour of a minimum assured income.³

Tallages and judicial fines were important sources of income, and it is clear that, within limits, there was room for negotiation about the value and terms of grants. In certain circumstances, an extra grant could moreover be exacted, as at Pembroke in 1461. On the whole though, it would seem that custom was hardening in this respect by the mid-fifteenth century, and, while a forceful lord might gain concessions, the communities managed in the long run to protect themselves against arbitrary action.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510. In fact, the increase had stood at £1.6s.8d., but had had to be reduced.
2. This had been necessary at St Florence, for example. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1563 and 1569.
3. See page 114 note 1.

There may have been attempts to improve the commorth's value by the Herbert administration. At Crickhowell in 1447-8 £8.12s. was given as the value of the commorth on the English rent-collector's account; this representing the value of 21½ cows. (The sum was not however charged that year, so there is no chance of estimating the real value of the due.) In 1479-80 the charge was stated at £10.15s.: the due had fallen due in the preceding year and £10.6s.8d. had been realized. While the increase in the commorth's value may be due to changes in the market value of cattle, there does seem to have been a more positive approach to its valuation in the later period than in the 1430's and 1440's.¹

The commercial dues were also subject to the administration's attention. At Dunster in 1465-6 the stall rents and other market issues were charged at £4: in 1461-2 the charge had only been worth £1.10s. plus an increment of £2.3s.4d.² At Crickhowell in 1447-8 the tollcester collector was responsible for the proceeds of 145½ tolls at 7d. each: by 1477-8 the rate had been increased to 9d. The attempt to raise the proceeds of this due was not very successful because the number of tollcesters declined from 177 in 1430-1 to 62 in 1480-1.³

Generally however, the commercial dues were not exploited directly, but were farmed to tenants and officials.⁴ This policy was also common so far

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.

3. Reference as note 1, page 168

4. At Chepstow the customs, which had been collected by the Customer in 1477-8, were farmed to the Receiver by 1482-3. The lord's rights over trade were similarly consolidated and farmed at Pembroke in 1434-5 and 1475-6 and at Swansea in 1448-9: at Tenby however they were still exploited directly. In the case of Newport, Lord Herbert seems to have struck a good bargain by farming the borough with the fishery, ale assizes, commercial dues and court profits for the sum of £32 to the Mayor and burgesses: the total charge in 1447-8 had not reached £30. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 1510, 1563 and 1569. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, pp. 221-2. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. P.R.Q. Duchy of Lancaster; Ministers' Accts.; D.L. 29/651/10531.

as the lord's rights over the waste and in the forest were concerned. Thus, the rights in the offshore islands of St. Ishmaels were being leased to the tenants in 1462.¹ Farming extended in some cases to the leasing of entire properties and even to lordships with relatively complex charges. Llanstephan was thus farmed, probably from 1461-2; that is, from the date of Herbert's entry.² Cilgerran was leased to Sir Walter Herbert, the second Earl's brother, from Easter 1476.³ Farming was especially appropriate in the case of outlying estates of small value. Thus, Yazor, in Herefordshire had been farmed by the early 1480's to the 1476-8 bailiff.⁴ Bryngwyn, although of little worth, was situated very close to Raglan: nevertheless direct exploitation by the Herberts ceased there between 1464 and 1468, when the lands were described as in the hands of the Abbot of Llantarnam.⁵ Pen-y-clawdde manor was leased for 12 years in 1463-4.⁶ In south-west England, the small properties of Blanecombe, Cothelstone and Exton were all being farmed in 1465-6 and 1478-9.⁷ At Caldicot, Newton manor was farmed

1. The change in this case seems to have been a recent one and may well date from Herbert's entry. At Llandovery the Receiver leased the profits of the pannage and the right to honey and wax in 1465-6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1566 and 1562.
2. The farmers' charge of £66 was lower than the £74 charged in 1434-5; but the farm may not have been unrealistic, given the saving in administrative costs and the probability that the 1434-5 total was optimistic. By 1475-6 there was only one farmer: it is probable that he was a Herbert official or was officially related to the administration. The farm's value had, by then, decreased to £53. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568 and 1569.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1587. Llantarnam was a Cistercian foundation, a daughter house of Strata Florida. The house lay to the south-west of Usk.
6. Badminton M.R., 1585.
7. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1558.

with most of its properties to the bailiff for £10; the advowson, woods and court proceeds being explicitly excepted from the lease.¹

As in the case of the decay evidence, the information relating to the expansion of the income from land is suggestive of a growing simplicity so far as the charges were concerned and the increasing predominance of rents and farms at the expense of the other sources of income. In so far as any policy on the part of the Herbert administration can be discerned, it was a traditional one. The policy of farming out the simpler and smaller properties, as well as those at a distance from the home areas, clearly antedated Herbert's entry in many cases; but it was continued and extended by his administration. The policy - which was often implemented fairly quickly after Herbert's acquisition of an estate - must have had special attractions for an up-and-coming politician, whose administration was perhaps straining under the dual burdens of a war-time situation and the rapid accumulation of estates in different regions. Whether the more important farms were meant to last - or were originally seen as stop-gap measures - we have no way of knowing. But the policy seems rarely to have been reversed once embarked upon, and it was probably extended by Herbert's widow and son.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

Chapter III: The nature of the discharge

THE HERBERT ESTATES

Table III

The nature of the discharge:¹

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
I. South-Eastern Estates										
RAGLAN (Bailiff's)	1479/80									
	1480/81	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	=
	1481/82									
RAGLAN (Receiver's)	1452/53	-	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	X
	1461/64									
RAGLAN and MATHENNY	1479/80									
	1480/81	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	-
	1481/82									
MATHENNY	1479/80									
	1480/81	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
	1481/82									

1. Technical adjustments found on the discharge side of the accounts - for example, allowances in request of past surpluses and items doubly charged-will not be included in this discussion. Neither will allowances for decayed rents, which have been discussed elsewhere. Allowances in respect of pardoned fines complicate the discharges of some accounts: these were generally not very important and have also been excluded from the table.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
LLANTILIO CROSSENNY	1463/64:68/9 1477/78:82/3	X	—	—	—	X	X	X	X	—
PENRHOS/BETTWS	1463/64:68/9 1479/80:80/81 1481/82	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
BRYNGWYN	1463/64	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WYESHAM/MONMOUTH	1453/54:54/5 1457/58:61/3 1464/65:66/7 1469/70:77/8: 82/3	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	—
WONASTOW	1479/80 1480/81 1481/82	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
TRELLECK	1479/80 1480/81 1481/82	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchase for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
DINGESTOW	1463/64									
Incl. Tal-y-fan	1479/80									
Pen-y-clawdde	1480/81	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
	1481/82									
LLANVAIR MYBON OWEN	1468/69	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
USK PARISH	1463/64	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
MAINDIFFI	1462/64									
	1468/69	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	-
	1479/82									
ABERYSTRUTH	1463/64									
	1468/69	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LLANDEWI RHYDDERCH	1463/64	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GOYTRE and LLANOVER	1463/64									
	1468/69	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
CRICKHOWELL ² (Brecon.)	1430/31:45/6 1446/47:47/8 1479/80:80/1 1477/78	o X	o X	o X	o X	-	o X	o -	X	X
CHEPSTOW ² Incl. Berton Tidenham (Glos.)	1477/78 1482/83	o X	o X	o X	o X	-	X	o X	o -	-
LAGHARNE	1468/69	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CAERLEON	1463/64 1468/69	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LEBENYTH CAERLEON	1477/78 1482/83	X	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	X

2. The discharge is here complicated by the transmission of monies through a receiver. The mark o indicates the main features of the Receiver's discharge.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property;	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
MOYNES COURT	1477/78	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
KILPECK (Herefs.)	1482/83	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-
NEWPORT ²	1465/66	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> -	-	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X
STRADEWY (Brecon)	1456/57	X	X	-	X	X	-	-	X	-
TRETOWER/STRADEWY ² (Brecon)	1482/83	<u>O</u> X	<u>O</u> X	-	<u>O</u> -	-	-	-	<u>O</u> -	-
MAGOR	1482/83	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	-
WELLINGTON (Herefs.)	1477/78	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	-
YAZOR (Herefs.)	1477/78 1482/83	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

2. The discharge is here complicated by the transmission of monies through a receiver. The mark o indicates the main features of the Receiver's discharge.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
CALDICOT	1482/83	X	X	X	—	—	X ?	X	—	—
NEWTON	1482/83	X	X	X	—	—	X	X	—	—
II. South-Western Estates										
Pembroke Co. and its Members										
TREASURER ²	1461/62 1475/76	o	o	o	o	—	o	o	o	o
PEMBROKE TOWN, MILLS and BURTON FERRY	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—
CASTLEMARTIN	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	—	X	X	—	—	X	—
ST. FLORENCE	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	X	X	X	—	—	X	—

2. The discharge is here complicated by the transmission of monies through a receiver. The mark o indicates the main features of the Receiver's discharge.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payment s by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
COYTRATH FOREST	1434/35 1475/76	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	X	—
TENBY	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—
EAST PEMBROKE	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEST PEMBROKE	1434/35 1475/76	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
KYNGESWOD and GAWDON	1434/35 1475/76	X	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—
DUNGLEDDY	1434/35 1475/76	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CEMAES	1434/35 1475/76	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RHOS	1434/35 1475/76	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders t Household
CILGERRAN ²	1434/35	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	-	-
	1464/65	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
	1475/76									
LLANSTEPHAN ²	1434/35	o	o		o		o	o	o	-
	1464/65	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
	1474/76									
WALWYN'S CASTLE ²	1463/64	o	o	o	o	-	-	o		-
	1475/76	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
CAREW (OLD and NEW)	1475/76	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
	1477/78									
BURTON	1475/76	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1477/78									
WILLIAMSTON	1475/76	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
	1477/78									

2. The discharge is here complicated by the transmission of monies through a receiver. The mark o indicates the main features of the Receiver's discharge.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
HAVERFORD ²	1456/57 1462/63	o X	o X	o X	o X	X	X ?	-	X	-
LLANDOVERY ²	1465/66	o X	o X	o X	-	-	-	o -	-	-
SWANSEA, GOWER and KILVEY	1448/49	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-
III. The Dunster Estates										
RECEIVER ²	1461/62 1465/66 1478/79	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	-	o
DUNSTER TOWN	1461/62 1465/66 1478/79	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-

2. The discharge is here complicated by the transmission of monies through a receiver. The mark o indicates the main features of the Receiver's discharge.

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders Household
CARHAMPTON HUNDRED	1461/62 1465/66 1478/79	X	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
CARHAMPTON BERTON	1461/62 1465/66 1478/79	X	X	X	X	X	—	X ?	X	—
MINEHEAD	1461/62 1465/66	X	X	X	X	—	X ?	—	X	—
EAST QUANTOXHEAD	1461/62 1465/66	X	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—
KILTON	1461/62 1465/66	X	X	X	X	—	—	—	X	—
VEXFORD	1461/62 1465/66	X	—	X	X	—	—	—	X	—
IVETON	1460/62 1465/66	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	X	—

The nature of the discharge (ctd.):

Property:	Inform. from:	Liveries	Fees, Annuities and Wages	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Purchases for Household	Payments by warrant	Others	Food. Renders to Household
RADLET	1461/62	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1465/66									
CHILTON LUTTERELL	1461/62									
	1465/66	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-
	1478/79									
BLANECOMBE	1465/66	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-
	1478/79									
COTHELSTONE	1465/66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EXTON	1465/66	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The nature of the discharge:

This chapter will be concerned with the fate of the revenues collected by the local officials; including local and regional receivers where they existed. The main ways by which discharge was effected will be examined, and an attempt made to assess their relative importances in money-terms. We will then examine any evidence which suggests a change in the pattern of the discharge for a particular estate, and will finally attempt some conclusions about the differences between estates and areas; based upon the information reviewed in this and the preceding chapter.

The main ways by which discharge was achieved are shown in Table III.

1. Liveries:

Just as rents and farms contributed to the charges of practically all the Herbert estates, so the payment of cash to a superior receiving official - the 'livery of money' - was a universal component of their discharges. To gain an impression of the monetary importance of the livery as a means of discharge we shall once again look at the nine estates which served as examples in the preceding chapter:-

Table IV The discharges of nine Herbert properties:

	Value of discharge ¹	Liveries	Fees, Wages and Annuities	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Household purchases	Payments	Others
(PEMBR.) HAVERFORD and members ²	£119-£128	£98-£111	£3 ³	6s-£6	£1-£1	£1 ³	-	-	£2 ³
(MONM.) CHEPSTOW and members ⁴	£143-£203	£11-£86	£6-£9	£5-£8	-	-	£41-£63	£28-£48	5s-9s
(SOMS.) CARHAMPTON BERTON ⁵	£84-£116	£68-£94	£5-£6	2s-£4	£2-£4	10s-£1	-	£6 ³	13s-28s
(PEMBR.) ST. FLORENCE	£32-£32	£30-£31	3s-3s	-	8s ³	£2 ³	-	-	4s-4s
(MONM.) CALDICOT	£63	£45	£3	18s	-	-	£11	£1	-
(SOMS.) KILTON ⁵	£20-£24	£18-£23	10s-10s	5d-3s	-	2d ³	-	-	2d-5d

Table IV (ctd.):

	Value of discharge ¹	Liveries	Fees, Wages and Annuities	Offic. costs	Repairs	Agric. costs	Household purchases	Payments	Others
(PEMBR.) KYNGESWOOD and GAWDON	£8-£10	£6-£7	3s-3s	-	-	9s ³	-	-	-
(MONM.) BRYNGWYN	£3 ³	£3 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(DEVON) BLANECOMBE	£5-£6	£5-£6	-	1s ³	-	-	-	-	3s ³

- The figure^{given} here contains a number of items not dealt with in the break-down, notably the decayed rent allowances. Respited sums are not however included.
- The addition of the Receiver's costs - but obviously excluding his liveries - would amend certain of the categories as follows:-

Fees, wages and annuities	Official costs	Repairs
£15 - £44	£3 - £8	£22 - £139
- In this case there is only a figure for one year.
- The Chepstow discharge would be affected in the following way if the items from the Receiver's accounts were introduced:

Fees, wages and annuities	Official costs	Repairs	Others
£16 - £16	£5 - £9	7s ³	9s - 12s
- The expenditure on the Dunster Receiver's accounts was clearly for the barony as a whole and will not therefore be taken into account in the cases of Carhampton Berton and Kilton.

While these figures must be severely qualified,¹ they do indicate the overall importance of cash liveries as a means of discharge. However, while the majority of the estates held by the Herbert family had discharges which were dominated by the payment of cash to a superior receiving official, or a member of the family, there were important exceptions to this rule and considerable variations in the extent to which liveries were predominant.

In south-west England liveries were more or less universally significant so far as the local ministers' accounts were concerned. At Carhampton Berton, for example, about £104 was discharged in 1461-2; of which £92 had been paid as cash to the Receiver. In 1465-6 of £84 discharged, liveries accounted for £68. The Dunster town accounts appear to have been somewhat less dependent upon liveries as a means of discharge. In 1465-6 of £28 discharged, about £18 was allowed in respect of cash payments: in 1478-9 the figures were £18 and £12 respectively. This lower level of discharge by livery was probably the consequence of the relatively high repair costs borne by the town accountant: in 1465-6 repairs to the Castle and Minehead mill consumed over £3. Even the Receiver of this group of estates, who bore many of the running costs of the area, as well as having expenditure assigned to him from the centre, discharged the bulk of his charge in cash. In 1465-6 of £214 discharged, liveries to the lord's

1. In addition to the qualifications expressed in the preceding chapter, there are others which are particular to a break-down of the discharge. Some accounts contain omnibus clauses relating to the annual expenditure of the accountant, as at Chepstow and Caldicot where we are faced with clauses which refer to liveries made to the Countess and the costs incurred in supplying her Household. Without the respective detailed bills - such as survive on the Wyesham-Monmouth accounts - the assignment of these important sums to one category or the other must be rather arbitrary.

coffers accounted for £166. In 1477-9 liveries seem to have accounted for about £240 in a discharge of £334.¹

The situation in west Wales appears to have been much the same at the local level; the officials paying the bulk of their receipts to a superior, receiving official. There seems however to have been a difference in the scale of expenditure at the receiver's level. A greater proportion of the receiver's revenues seems to have been consumed in west Wales and liveries to the centre were correspondingly less significant. The lower liveries reflect the high capital costs involved in maintaining these lordships; costs which probably rose during the unsettled early years of Edward IV's reign.

The Treasurer of Pembroke County's account for 1461-2 is the best example of this heavy, local expenditure. In that year the Treasurer received sums totalling £750; £145 from the residents as a subsidy for the soldiers' wages, drafts totalling £115 from Herbert's coffers, £153 from the tallage of recognition, nearly £7 from escheated lands and the residue as liveries from the local ministers. The Treasurer overspent this charge by £17. The wages of the soldiers in Pembroke Castle had consumed about £364, and of those in Tenby Castle £36, while 'foreign deliveries' to Tenby - worth £104 - were apparently intended for the same purpose. Repairs to Pembroke Castle had cost a further £35. The Treasurer did however manage to remit £120 to Herbert's Receiver-General.²

1. The Receiver's liveries of 1477-9 are termed 'Payments by warrant' on the account; but, although one sum of £15 was paid to the Steward of the Earl's Household, the bulk of the sum of £241 probably reached the Earl in the form of cash. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557 and 1558.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564.

In 1475-6, although the Treasurer's account no longer gives the impression of a period of military crisis, the liveries to members of the family and its central officials do not seem to have been that important alongside the many assignments and items of local expenditure.¹

At Llandovery in 1465-6 the discharge on the local ministers' accounts was largely, if not wholly, effected by the livery of cash to the Receiver. On the other hand, the Receiver's discharge was worth about £166, of which only £80 was paid in cash to Herbert's central receiving officials. Repair costs and the payment of the farm to Lord Audley accounted for the bulk of the residue.²

In 1456-7 at Haverford local officers discharged about £128; of which liveries to the Receiver accounted for £111: the discharge figure in 1462-3 stood at £119, of which £98 had been discharged as cash payments. The Receiver was clearly responsible for much of the spending of the lordship, and in 1456-7 there were consequently no liveries to his superior. In 1462-3 the Receiver paid a small sum to the Herbert Receiver-General, but this was dwarfed by the high, local costs.³

The discharge of the farmers of Llanstephan was however largely a matter of delivering cash to the Receiver-General in 1464-5. Of £49 allowed, nearly £36 had been paid over to the centre. In 1474-5 the farmer received allowance for over £90: the rubrics vaguely suggest that the discharge was effected by payments on the Countess's behalf, as well

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566

as by the payment of cash to her. The following year liveries to the Receiver-General accounted for £51 of the discharge; payments by warrant— which clearly involved the purchasing of goods for the Earl and the cost of local repairs - for £20, and, finally, the allowance of his surplus for nearly £22.¹

In the case of Cilgerran the most important - in many cases the only - element of the local officers' discharges was the delivery of cash to the Receiver. In 1434-5 the bulk of this cash was, in turn, transmitted to the Pembroke Treasurer. The situation had changed somewhat by 1464-5: at £21 the liveries to the Herbert Receiver-General were the most important item of the £68 discharge, but their relative importance had lessened since 1434-5. In part, this loss of hegemony was a consequence of the heavy repair costs of 1464-5.²

The situation in south-east Wales was less uniform than that obtaining in the other two areas. The majority of properties had discharges in which liveries were a very important item; if not the only one. Thus the 1463-4 rent-collector at Llanddewi Rhydderch paid nearly £4.4s. of his total discharge of £4.8s. in the form of liveries.³ In the same year the Caerleon official discharged £5.14s., of which £4.14s. had been paid to the Herbert Receiver-General.⁴ The

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568 and 1569.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563 and 1568.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585. There is little point in giving/further detailed examples. A list of the properties which had discharges which were wholly, or very largely, dependent upon the payment of cash is given below. As the pattern of the discharge could change, I have supplied the year, or years, from which the information comes:- Penrhos (1463-4: 1468-9); Bettws (1463-4: 1468-9); Bryngwyn (1463-4); Lagharne (1468-9); Moynes court (1477-8); Kilpeck (1482-3); Stradewy (1456-7); Maindiffi (1462-3: 1463-4: 1468-9: 1479-80); Aberystroth (1463-4); Goytre and Llanover (1463-4); Ingestow/Tal-y-fan/Pen-y-clawdde (1463-4: 1479-80: 1480-1: 1481-2); Llanvair Mybn Owen (1468-9); Usk parish (1463-4; 1468-9); Crickhowell [Receiver's] (1434-5: 1446-7: 1447-8); Raglan/Mathenny (1479-80); Mathenny (1479-80: 1480-1: 1481-2); Raglan [bailiff's] (1479-80: 1480-1: 1481-2). N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1589, 1508, 1510, 2514, 1509, 1590 4, 8 and 9.

local officials of Newport/Wentloog discharged the bulk of their charges in the form of liveries to the Receiver in 1465-6. That official similarly transmitted a very large part of his receipts as cash to the Herbert Receiver-General and other central officials: of a total discharge of over £600, more than £580 was thus paid in cash to the centre.¹

There was also however a minority of important estates which had more complex discharges. Thus at Wyesham-Monmouth the discharge consisted of allowances for repaid rents and farms; repair and building costs; purchases for the Household; fees, wages and an annuity; official expenses; agricultural costs; repayments of the lord's debts; the defective rents, and liveries and assignments to central officials, or the lord. Liveries were relatively insignificant; especially when placed alongside the sums allowed for goods purchased on behalf of the Household. In 1462-3, for example, the accountant was allowed nearly £13 in respect of his purchases in Monmouth town, and the bailiff of the preceding year was allowed well over £7 for similar expenses incurred during his term of office: the only livery - and that a rather dubious one - was worth under £2.² It is clear that Wyesham's proximity to Raglan and situation near a trading centre caused its cash to be used at source, rather than transported the few miles to Raglan.

1. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583

Crickhowell seems to have become an estate of this type by 1477-8. Apart from decay allowances and respites, the local ministers' accounts were largely discharged by the delivery of cash to the Receiver. That official bore local expenses worth about £18 in 1477-8, of which the payment of fees to the higher officials and the costs of Elizabeth Herbert's stay on the manor were the most important items. In addition, £15 had been paid to the lord as a livery; the Steward, Sir Walter Herbert, had also received £6, and the Countess Anne £2. Finally, Household officials had been paid drafts totalling £66-15s; £23 had been remitted to, or for, the lord's creditors, and the sum of £2.6s.8d. spent on a horse for ^Mary, Countess of Pembroke.¹

The cash livery was thus a universal element of the discharges. It was also usually the most important element in money terms; but, where there was a need for heavy, local expenditure - as in west Wales in the 1460's - or where the situation of a property made direct expenditure for central purposes more convenient than disbursement from the centre, the liveries became much less significant. The cash livery, for all its importance, was to some extent the residual category of the discharge: only after the local costs and the assignments had been met were the remnants of the issues transported to Raglan. As costs and assignments

1. The following estates also seem to have had discharges in which liveries were not very important:- Mantilio Crossenny (1463-4: 1468-9: 1477-8: 1482-3); Bettws (1479-80); Penrhos (1479-80: 1480-1: 1481-2); Maindiffi (1480-81: 1481-2); Wellington (1477-8); Wonastow (1479-80: 1481-2); Trelleck (1479-80 : 1480-1: 1481-2); Raglan [Receiver's] (1452-3: 1461-2: 1462-3: 1463-4); Raglan/Mathenny (1480-1: 1481-2). N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1585, 1587, 1508, 1510, 1509, 1589, 1590, 1578, 1582 and 1584. There were also a few estates which seem to have been of this type, but where we cannot be so sure of the proportion of liveries to other costs:- Chepstow [ministers'] (1477-8: 1482-3); Lebenyth Caerleon (1477-8: 1482-3); Magor (1482-3); Caldicot (1482-3); Newton (1482-3). N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1508 and 1510.

fluctuated, so did the liveries. On occasion, an accountant's costs completely exhausted his resources and drafts had to be made from other areas, or from the centre.¹

From the Herbert Receiver-General's accounts - which exist for three years in the mid 1460's - we can gain some idea of the pattern of payment throughout the year. The case of the liveries from the Pembroke Treasurer appears to have been fairly typical of the situation so far as the properties with a local receipt were concerned. Liveries were made to the Receiver-General at regular intervals throughout the year. In the Summer and early Autumn the Receiver-General was paid sums which, in all probability, related to the current charge: these payments were usually quite valuable. The next payment - or group of payments - was made about November or December: the sum paid at this time was almost always the most valuable of the year and it clearly consisted in the main of the rents gathered at Michaelmas. (This payment was usually reckoned to be 'of arrears'. The accounts closed technically at Michaelmas; but in fact allowances were made up to the date of the audit. Some accountants would thus manage to get the bulk of the Michaelmas rents in before the actual closure of their account, in which case they would be classed as 'current' payments). From this point - but usually concentrated in the late Spring - smaller residual sums owed from the preceding financial year would be paid in; as well as some of the current Spring rents. So far as the smaller properties were concerned, the liveries tended to be fewer; but the

1. In 1461-2 the Pembroke Treasurer received three drafts from the lord's coffers worth £115 in all: these payments were for the wages of the soldiers in Tenby and Pembroke Castles. In 1482-3 the Tidenham (Chepstow) bailiff received £18.12s. from 'divers ministers' of the Countess Anne; over £5 coming from the Tretower Receiver and £6.12s. from the Caldicot bailiff. Despite these drafts, the heavy expenditure on the account resulted in an overspending of £14. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564 and 1510.

importance of the Winter/Spring period was undiminished.¹

2. Expenditure on behalf of the Household and payments by warrant:

As we have seen, some estates had discharges which were not effected in the main by the payment of cash to a superior official. These were the properties whose revenues were used to supply the Household and pay its creditors.

The best example of such an estate is Wyesham-Monmouth, where some of the bailiff's bills survive on the accounts and allow us to look behind the formalized expenditure clauses of the account. At Wyesham-Monmouth the allowance of sums spent by the bailiff lagged further behind the actual expenditure than it would probably have done had the discharge been simpler. This meant that only a part of the year's expenditure had been allowed by the time the account closed. Consequently, one of the major items of the following year's discharge would be the allowance of the residue - in some cases of the bulk - of the preceding year's expenditure.² Where we have two successive accounts, we can thus be fairly certain that we have a more or less complete knowledge of the first year's expenditure: this situation occurs twice so far as surviving Wyesham-Monmouth accounts are concerned. Conversely, even where we have no account for a particular year, we often have some knowledge (albeit incomplete) as to the nature of that year's expenditure from the retrospective bills on the succeeding account.

1. The 1466-7 Pembroke Treasurer paid in £160 on the 24th June, 1466: three days later a further sum - of £10 - was credited to him. A sum of £200 was receipted by an indenture dated 17th December, 1466. Finally, between 4th March, 1467 and the end of May two sums, totalling £60, were paid to the Receiver-General. The Receiver-General received in all £170 from Crickhowell in 1466-7; about £50 in July/August 1466; £101 in January/February 1467, and £20 on May 27th, 1467. From Maundiff the Receiver-General received about £23; of which sum £21.15s. was received in January/February in four payments and the residue on 3rd April, 1467. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502.
2. Thus, in 1453-4 the bailiff was allowed £10.19s. for the 'divers payments, items, costs of repair and provisioning, both for the use of the lord's household as well as for other husbandry things and necessities....'; and during the following year the residue of that expenditure - a sum of nearly £18. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1579.

Table V

The discharge at Wyesham/Mónmouth:¹

Year	Discharge ^c total (£)	Repair/building costs (£)	Purchases (£)	Payment of lord's debts (£)	Liveries/ Assignms. to officials or lord (£)
1453-4 ^a	46	— 12 —		-	12
1454-5	35	4	4	2	3
1457-8	42	— 17 —		-	8
1461-2 ^b	50	1	36	-	4
1462-3	46	5	23	-	2
1464-5	43	5	22	-	1
1466-7	58	2	22	20	-
1469-70	74	3	59	-	4
1477-8	21	-	3	-	9
1482-3	37	-	13	19	1

a Information from 1453-4 and 1454-5

b Information from 1461-2 and 1462-3

c Not including decays, allowances for double-charging, and surpluses

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508 and 1510.

Table V on the preceding page gives an indication of the importance of the Wyesham bailiff's purchases. From the detailed bills on the accounts we can derive some idea of the nature of this expenditure.

In 1464-5 of nearly £22 spent, £19.6s. was spent on hay and the costs of maintaining the lord's horses in Monmouth Castle. The purchases of hay - much of it in the form of standing crops - and the costs of making and transporting it had consumed over £10: the residue of the £19 was spent on the board of 'Jaket, the lord's servant' and the five other men caring for the horses.¹

The bulk of the 1469-70 expenditure was spent on cloth: over £51 was thus allowed for cloth purchases.² Some of the purchases were for the family's use: 7½ yards of 'sad green for girdles ['gydes'] etc. to my young ladies' being purchased, as well as 4 yards of murrey 'at the going of my lord's sons to Oxford'.³ Murrey was also purchased for the 'launders and the woman of the almeshouse', and the Countess received 3 yards for 'mistress Wogan'.⁴ Then there were the family's servants and followers to be clothed. Some, like Thomas Hurde, received cloth on an individual basis: he had received 1½ yards of russet 'when my lord went to London ward' in the third week of Lent. There were also however bulk

1. Small sums were also allowed for food and drink delivered to Raglan; for coal and equipment delivered to the parker; for the cost of saddles and other riding equipment, and the expense of transporting goods, which included fish, wheat and 'bedding...to my lord's household'. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594.
2. One reason for this high expenditure seems to be that the bill of purchases covered at least two years. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588.
3. The Earl's sons do not appear to have been scholars at the University. A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, Oxford 1958.
4. Sir Henry Wogan of Wiston married one of William Herbert's sisters, Margaret. A daughter of theirs, Elizabeth, married a half brother of Herbert's, Watkin Vaughan.

deliveries of cloth, like that worth over £46 to Adam ap Meurig, a central official: the consignment - of 29 dozen and 2½ yards of cloth - was intended for the Earl's livery. (The quantities of black cloth purchased were probably destined for use in the Herbert funeral rites: the Countess, for example, received 8½ yards of black satin beyond the items detailed on the bill. The Earl's funeral was, in fact, probably one cause of the high expenditure on cloth.¹) The purchases of 1469-70 were not however solely concerned with the purchasing of cloth: iron-work delivered to Raglan had cost £1.15s, and the residue of the £59 spent in that year had been used to maintain and equip the lord's horses.

On occasion, the provisioning of Raglan would become the main object of the bailiff's expenditure. The information relating to the expenditure of 1462-3 is incomplete; but allowances worth £6, over £2 had been spent on food. Fish, pepper, saffron, cinnamon, mussels, ginger, sugar, cloves, mace, almonds, pigs, green peas and beans, raisins, mutton, pears, peascods and white-salt had been sent to Raglan, and the carting expenses also mention deliveries of bread, meal and corn.²

The rôle of the Wyesham-Monmouth bailiff would thus seem to have been a supplementary one. He would purchase spices in quantity when stocks ran low, when the price was right, or when Raglan's need became acute.

1. Noble funerals were usually occasions of great liberality to servants and the poor.
2. There are a number of references on the accounts to foodstuffs being sent to Raglan from properties in the area. At Crickhowell the catchpoll in 1477-8 received allowance for 15 sheep, 4 cows and oats delivered to the Household's Steward. Similarly, the parker there was not charged for the sale of 51 hens received as agistment rents because these were regularly delivered to Raglan in the late 1470's and early 1480's. In 1480-1 the Crickhowell Receiver was allowed over £2 for 45 mutton delivered to the clerk of the kitchen at Raglan. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, 12, 1509, and 2610. See also: N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589 and 1590 (Wonastow); Badminton M.R. 1508 (Lebenyth Caerleon); and, for an example outside the Monmouth area, Badminton M.R., 1569 (Pembroke County).

Another year his revenues might be diverted to supplying the needs of the stable or the park, or be consumed in the purchasing of cloth on a grand scale.

As well as the purchases he was directed to make, the Wyesham-Monmouth bailiff also paid cash to the lord's creditors and drafts to his officials; these payments often being authorized by a letter of warranty. Although £6.13s.4d. was assigned to Hugh Hunteley, the royal Receiver of Monmouth in 1457-8, assignments and payments by warrant do not seem to have been very important until the 1460's and 1470's.¹ In 1466-7 £20 was paid by the bailiff to two men by authorization of a letter of warranty. As the payees appear on the 1462-3 account as suppliers of cloth and canvas, it is probable that the sum paid was for goods supplied to the Household.² In 1469-70 the bailiff dispensed £3.16s. by letters of warranty and in most of the cases the warrants remain on the account. The payees seem to have been mainly servants or officials of the Countess Anne, and at least one of the payments was of wages.³ Of the £37 discharged in 1482-3, over £32 was allowed in respect of payments made to warrantees of the Countess. Sums paid to the lady; spent on her Household, and used to purchase necessities for her use accounted for about £12.15s.⁴ An assignment made by the Countess in favour of her son-in-law, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, consumed a further £14.3s. (including the cost of collecting the cash in

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1580.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583 and 1586.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

Kilpeck and Monmouth.) The remaining nine payments were to named individuals; some of whom were probably suppliers and servants of the Countess.¹

Another estate of this type was Wonastow. In the late 1470's and early 1480's the cost of the stable maintained at Troy was being borne by the Wonastow official. In 1480-1 of about £17.13s. discharged, the maintenance of the servants at Troy looking after the horses, and the costs of hay making and repairs there had consumed £3.5s. In addition, the bailiff was being allowed £3 a year as the value of bullocks delivered to the Household. In 1479-80 the bailiff had paid £2 to a warantee of the lord's, the sum being the payment for a hawk, and costs connected with the lord's birds and dogs are also found on the 1480-1 account. Finally, in 1481-2, the bailiff paid £6.13s.4d. to an official; apparently for re-payment to one of the lord's creditors.²

Up to 1447-8 the Crickhowell Receiver had borne certain local costs - clerical and official costs; the payment of fees and wages; repair costs, and the expenses connected with the lord's sojourns on the manor: the residue of his receipts was however paid to the lord as cash.³ By 1477-8 however the cash residue was only being discharged in part by the livery of cash to the lord; his officials, and members of his family. An important minority of the discharge was composed of payments to suppliers and creditors of the lord who had warrants assigned against the Crickhowell revenues.⁴ A bill detailing assignments,

1. Elizabeth Cole, one of the warrantees, received money for the Countess in 1477-8; as 'Isabel Cole', she was paid monies on the Pembroke account of 1475-6, and is to be found on the Dunster Receiver's account for 1478-9 as an annuitant of the Earl's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557, 1558, 1508, 1510 and 1569.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1590.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2, 4, 6 and 9.
4. Page 191.

which exists at the end of the 1480-1 account, reinforces the view that Crickhowell's revenues were then being largely disbursed at source.

The first item refers to the assignment of the £31 personal surplus of the Receiver (which appears in the foot of his account for 1480-1). The other items detail payments made to the lord's creditors; many of them by authorization of warrants of August 1481. Among the expenses listed were those of the Earl at Windsor in January 1482. The recipients of the sums paid by warrant included a London draper, who was owed £61 in all; the Bishop of Llandaff, who was owed £16, and William Orell, a London silk merchant. The sums on the bill amount in all to about £80: the Receiver's current charge was about £129 in 1477-8 and £122 in 1479-80. The bill is, in all probability, a draft of the sums to be allowed on the account of the following year.¹

Chepstow was one of the dowager Countess Anne's residences; a fact which is reflected in the high, ministerial expenditure there on behalf of the Household. In 1477-8, for example, the town official was allowed £9.10s for the expenses of the Countess's Household: including decay allowances, his discharge was worth about £23. The Tidenham bailiff - whose total discharge stood at about £72 - received allowance for nearly £35, which he had 'paid to the lady Anne ... in divers items'. These items probably included some cash payments; but purchases had undoubtedly figured too, for the bill of items was retained by the lady's Steward. The Customer of Chepstow similarly spent £18.4s. upon 'divers expenses of the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2610, 12 and 1509.

lady': in all, he discharged about £25 that year.¹ In 1482-3 the ministerial allowances which specifically refer to household expenditure as well as the payment of cash to the lady were worth about £41, while the discharge - excluding decay allowances - stood at £189.

The 'payments by warrant' at Chepstow were concentrated on the Tidenham account, where the 1477-8 discharge included a payment of over £22 to John Hawkes of Bristol. (Hawkes was almost certainly a merchant and possibly a supplier of the Countess's Household. In 1475-6 a man of the same name had received a share of £21 paid by the Countess's warrant from the Pembroke Treasurer's issues; the two payees being described as 'merchants'). In all, the Tidenham bailiff received allowances worth about £25 in this respect, and the Bedell's and town official's small payments by warrant brought the figure up to about £28. In 1482-3 the bulk of the payments by warrant were once again discharged at Tidenham. A number were in favour of Household and central officials (like John Thomlyn and John Vaughan, who between them received £3.6s.8d.) An Oxford clerk, Richard Ludwiche, who had figured on the earlier account appears/as a recipient. However, the bulk of the assigned revenues had been paid to Katherine, dowager Duchess of Norfolk, who had received two payments of £20 in January and June. This was probably an annuity charged upon the estate, which had been a Mowbray possession before its purchase by William Herbert. The sum of £55 paid to the lady 'as well as to other persons' by the Tidenham bailiff probably contained further payments to Household suppliers, as well as items of the bailiff's direct expenditure.²

1. This expenditure probably explains the draft of £10.8s. which the Customer received from the Bedell.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1510 and 1569.

The revenues of Magor and Caldicot were also, to an extent, being disbursed at source in 1482-3. Excluding decay respites, about £40 was discharged on the account of the Magor bailiff: of this sum, liveries to the Countess and sums spent on purchases accounted for nearly £12.16s.; a further £8 had been paid to a corn supplier, and £1.10s. to a supplier of 'stores'. At Caldicot the bailiff's discharge - excluding decay respites-amounted to nearly £50.16s. Nearly £32 was allowed for monies paid to the Countess 'and other necessary costs of his'. In addition, about £2 was paid by letters of warranty to the suppliers of fuel and ale to the lady's household at Raglan. Similarly, over £9 of the £12 discharge on the account of the collector of the court perquisites had been paid to the Countess 'as well as upon divers other payments by the lady's order'.¹

Enough has been said of the estates situated in Gwent whose revenues were largely dispensed at source. But what of the properties in west Wales and south-west England?

At Cilgerran the allowances on the 1464-5 Receiver's account reveal little expenditure of a non-local type: a man's costs riding to Carnarvon on the lord's business were allowed, and 8 freize cloths purchased at the lord's command and delivered to the Constable of Tenby Castle; but these items were not worth more than £6, as against a total discharge of more than £60.² Excluding respites, the Llanstephan farmers were allowed £49 in 1464-5. Apart from the livery of money to the Receiver-General,

1, N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

there was only one item; twenty freize cloths worth £13.6s.8d. having been purchased and delivered to the Tenby Constable.¹ In the 1470's the farmer's discharge consisted of a mixture of liveries and expenditure on behalf of the lord. In 1475-6, for example, monies paid 'for divers stuffs to the Earl's use' accounted for over £13; £7 had been spent on mainly local costs, and £50 delivered to the Receiver-General.² Thus, while Cilgerran and Llanstephan had some direct expenditure at source, Household purchases and assignments to creditors do not seem to have been very important.

The Castle Walwyn Receiver's account for 1463-4 is similar in this respect to the Cilgerran and Llanstephan accounts. Of the £70 allowed, the bulk was discharged as cash liveries. The one assignment, involving a sum of less than £1, represented the value of victuals delivered to the bursar of 'le Marie', one of Herbert's ships.³ The discharge allowances on the Haverford Receiver's accounts of 1456-7 and 1462-3 reveal no assignments or expenditure on behalf of the Household.⁴

The Pembroke Treasurer discharged £760 in 1461-2. The bulk of this was spent locally; on the fees and wages of County officials, the wages of soldiers in Pembroke and Tenby Castles, official costs and repair expenses. There were however a few payments and assignments by the lord's order. Thomas Herbert, esquire, was thus authorized to take £13 from the issues of a subsidy granted to Herbert, while another member of the family, William, was assigned £20 as a reward for his work in the area.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.

On the whole however, the account was similar to the western Welsh ones already discussed.¹

In 1475-6 however about half of the Treasurer's discharge - £367 of £672 - had been dispensed to the lord's warrantees. Of this sum, liveries to the Earl, the dowager Countess, and their receiving officials accounted for nearly £160. Drafts to Household officials; payment for food and drink consumed or delivered to the Household, and the value of one or two purchases of a central kind accounted for about £37.² Sums paid to merchants were nearly as important as the liveries at about £123.³ Some of the warrantees cannot be classified, so it may well be that the repayments to merchants and other creditors have been under-estimated: the sums in this respect amount to £38.⁴ Finally, official costs and payments to servants accounted for about £9. In short, in 1475-6 a sizeable proportion of the Treasurer's discharge was not spent locally, but went to pay the creditors and other warrantees of the lord, and to support the Household.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. Thus £9 had been paid to the Steward of the Earl's Household; £6.13s.4d. spent on food and wine by John ap Guillim Thomas at Magor; a horse purchased for the Marquess of Dorset; the Tenby bailiff paid for fish delivered to the Household; wine purchased and sent to Chepstow, and 84 yards of Irish linen bought and sent to Swansea at a cost of 17s.6d.
3. The Countess Anne had ordered over £21 to be paid to two merchants, and a number of London merchants obtained satisfaction of their debts from the Pembroke issues: Robert Duplage being paid £14.6s.8d.; William Orell of London, mercer, £20.13s.4d., and Edward Shaw, goldsmith, £55.10s.
4. Some of the warrantees were possibly officials; John ap Guillim Thomas, who received a total of nearly £17.12s. by three warrants, certainly was, The chaplain; who received £5 by warrant of the Countess, probably falls into this category; but the reason for the payment of £4.13s. to Matthew Cradock is less clear.

In the case of the Dunster estates, the local discharges bear little trace of central expenditure.¹ The Receiver's account of 1465-6 however

contains evidence of a few purchases on behalf of the Household. The so-called 'foreign payments by the lord's letters of warranty' in fact consist largely of official costs and liveries; but a few central purchases are included. The first group of items is worth about £10 and includes the cost of two pipes of honey at £3.6s.8d., while the second contains a reference to a sum paid to a Household official for a pipe of wine intended as the lord's gift to the Temple in London.² In 1479-80 the Receiver's £334 discharge was largely effected by 'payments by warrant' worth £241: these were however clearly liveries; although there is one reference to a sum - of £15 - being paid to the Earl's Household Steward.³

It would thus seem that a few properties around Raglan had discharges which were markedly different from those of the majority of the properties in all three areas. To some extent, the comparison is faulty, because many small properties did not enjoy the independent spending power of a Wyesham-Monmouth, but were subordinated to a local receipt which controlled the area's expenditure. The costs of one of Castle Walwyn's members are thus bound to look thin beside those of Wyesham; the true comparison would be with the account of the Receiver of the former lordship. Yet, even when the accounts produced by the local receipts are introduced, the difference between the 'home' estates and those in outlying areas does not disappear.

1. Although, at Carhampton Berton in 1478-9 the bailiff was allowed £6 which he had paid during the preceding year to Thomas Norton, the under-Sheriff of Somerset, for the fines laid upon the Earl in the Exchequer as the Chamberlain of South Wales. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.

3. Fees, annuities and wages:

Fees, wages, annuities and rewards were generally considerably less important as an item of the discharge than liveries; Household purchases, and payments by warrant. They were at their most significant on the accounts of local and regional receivers.

The Pembroke Treasurer thus discharged over £63 of £764 in this way in 1461-2.¹ By 1475-6 the amount being spent on the remuneration of officials had increased to about £75; the discharge then stood at around £670.² This rise in the overall value of the item was however largely the consequence of the inclusion of a number of fees from lordships not strictly within the County.³

The payment of fees and wages was more important in the discharge of the 1456-7 Haverford Receiver's account; over half of the sum allowed had been consumed by this expenditure.⁴ Haverford was in the queen's hands in 1456-7, and its administration had clearly been used to provide royal appointees with lucrative offices: two of the officials feed in 1456-7 held by life grants of the king and queen and were almost certainly

1. The Treasurer/Steward received 20 marks a year for each office; the Sheriff and Constable of Pembroke Castle £5 each, and the Auditor, the Constable of Tenby Castle and Forester of Coytrath, the lord's Attorney, the clerk of the County and Court, and the Butler of Pembroke, Tenby and Haverford sums of less than £5. The Treasurer also paid wages totalling £500 to the soldiers at Pembroke and Tenby. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
3. The additional fees paid were in respect of the major offices of Carew, Cilgerran and Castle Walwyn. (In 1475-6 two Auditors were moreover feed, as against the single official of 1461-2.)
4. The Constable/Steward received £20 a year; the two Receivers £3.6s.8d. each; the Janitor/Itinerant Bailiff just over £6, and the Attorney, court clerk and two Auditors £2 a year. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565.

non-residents.¹ By 1462-3 the level of fees and wages had been more than halved; partly by a reduction in one of the rates and a pruning of the lordship's offices. It is noteworthy that most of the 1462-3 officials seem to have performed their duties in person.²

At Castle Walwyn, Llandovery and Cilgerran fees and wages were, on the other hand, relatively insignificant as a means of discharge in the 1460's.³

The number of high officials to be paid was perhaps greater in the complexly-organized lordships of west Wales than in those of the other areas in which Herbert estates were situated. It is at least possible though that plural office-holding; decreased rates of pay, and the abolition of redundant posts were reducing the importance of this item of the discharge in west Wales during the 1460's.

In south-west England we also find the more important officials being paid on the Receiver's account. In 1465-6 sums paid to the Steward, Auditor, court clerk and clerk of the accounts amounted to only £11 in a discharge of £214.⁴ In 1478-9 the fees paid to the Steward; the Receiver and Supervisor of Dunster; the Receiver of Stoke-below-Hamdon,

1. Geoffrey Pole held the offices of Steward and Constable by Henry VI's grant of 1451, and Henry Fisser those of Itinerant Bailiff and Janitor by a recent life-grant of the queen's. Geoffrey Kedwelly - one of the Receivers - was also probably a non-resident. For 1456-7 the Itinerant Bailiff's account was rendered by 'Thomas of the Chamber'; presumably as the deputy of Fisser.
2. Only one Receiver was paid, and the Itinerant Bailiff's fee had been cut to £2. The other main cause of the reduced expenditure was the absence of certain fees charged on the earlier account. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.
3. For example, the 1463-4 Receiver of Castle Walwyn paid the Auditors, the court clerk and himself fees which only amounted to about £4 of a £70 discharge. N.L.W, Badminton M.R., 1567, 1568 and 1562.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

and a parker only consumed £18 of a discharge of over £300.¹

At Crickhowell the payment of fees and wages on the Receiver's account was not very significant in 1477-8. By 1479-80 however of £106 discharged, fees were consuming a markedly higher proportion at £17. In addition to the usual fees - of the Steward, Receiver, lieutenant-Steward and court clerk- £3 was paid to a member of the lord's council, and John Vaughan's fee as Receiver and Improver at £13.6s.8d. a year was paid for a half a year.² In 1480-1 the whole of Vaughan's fee was paid from the Crickhowell revenues, as well as half of John Herbert's £10 fee as the Supervisor of the Earl's Welsh and Marcher properties: of £58 discharged, fees and wages accounted for over £28 in that year.³

At Newport/Wentloog the Receiver only discharged about £14 of over £600 on the fees of his office and those of the Constable, Janitor, Improver and accounts clerk.⁴

Many of the properties in south-east Wales were not subordinated to a local receipt. Consequently, the accounts of some of these estates carry the wages and fees of higher officials alongside the local fees. Thus, at Wyesham-Monmouth in 1453-4 the bailiff was allowed the fees of the Steward and of a man retained for the lord's council, as well as his own stipend as bailiff.⁵ The payment of wages and fees could be of

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12 and 1509.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2610.
4. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593.

importance on these accounts, some of which had fairly small discharges. At Wonastow in 1481-2, for instance, fees and wages accounted for £8 of a £23 discharge. The fees of some of the more important local offices were liable to division and re-assignment: Wonastow's neighbour, Trelleck, bore Lewis Bernak's fee of £3.6s.8d. as parker in 1479-80 and 1480-1; but in 1481-2 the fee was disallowed and we find that £2 of it had been paid at Wonastow. Such re-assignments were probably much less significant than they appear because these estates were often administered in groups. This was certainly the case at Wonastow and Trelleck, where one man accounted for both lordships.¹

The payment of local officials in the Raglan area and their remuneration in the other regions seems to have differed. The former area's remuneration was characterized by the high proportion of consolidated, monetary stipends paid.² So far as one can tell from the accounts, even a manorialized lordship like Chepstow had no officials who were remunerated by allowances of rent.³ Crickhowell and Newport seem to have been important exceptions in this respect. Most of Newport/Wentloog's local officials were remunerated, at least in part, by the allowance of their rents and works.⁴ While some of Crickhowell's

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1590, 1509 and 1589.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1590.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510. Although there is evidence for the existence of a reeve at Raglan in the 1460's and 1480's, by 1479 the manor was clearly being run, and accounted for, by stipendiary officials. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1590, 1582 and 1584.

4. Newport R.O. Ms.B/90/004.

officials were paid a consolidated money stipend - for example, the parker who received 13s.4d. - others received allowances of rent and wages tied to specific services. The cachepole and the town reeve thus received 2d. each for every hundred court held and the same for their presence on the fair-day. The cachepole also received an allowance of two tollcesters worth 1s.6d. as a fee, while the town reeve was allowed the rent of a burgage as a reward for his office. Crickhowell was clearly a manor which drew its administrators primarily from its unfree tenants; it had apparently however become necessary to make the offices less unattractive by paying wages in certain circumstances, in addition to the customary allowance ^{the} of officials' rents. The same course had obviously been followed so far as the more prestigious offices were concerned. The Bedell and the five foresters were charged a rent for their offices; but, in fact, it had become necessary to remit the Bedell's farm, and to pay wages to the foresters, the Welsh reeve, the Bedell and his servant for holding courts and their work on the fair-day. This already complicated system of payment was being augmented by the rewards and robes awarded during 1479-80 and 1480-1.¹

The situation in Pembroke County was similar to that obtaining at Crickhowell. The Pembroke portreeve and the Castlemartin reeve both received rent allowances in 1475-6. The two hundreds of Castlemartin were moreover supposed to provide rent-collectors: it had however been necessary to pay a collector for the east hundred in 1475-6 - he received

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610. In 1479-80, for instance, the cachepole, the Welsh reeve and the Bedell each received robes worth 6s.8d. each; the collector of the censes and tolls was pardoned over £1 worth of arrears because of his good service, and the town reeve received a reward of 2s.

a reward of 10s 'according to an agreement made with the Treasurer'. The reeves of Kyngeswood and Gawdon and St.Florence were also allowed their rents for the performance of their duties. The insignificant values of the monetary payments and allowances made to local officials suggest that an attempt was still being made in west Wales to exploit the old forms of administration at the local level.¹

The evidence from south-west England so far as the local officials are concerned is equivocal, but, on the whole, the Dunster properties seem to have been staffed by paid officials. At both Minehead and Carhampton Berton the customary tenants paid rents for their exoneration from the reeve's office and in both cases a bailiff was employed at a wage of £1.6s.8d. in the 1460's.²

Annuities were not very significant in the discharges of the 1450's and 1460's, but may have increased in importance during the 1470's. The Dunster Receiver's account of 1465-6 contains two annuities; one in favour of Christopher Worsley and worth 10 marks, the other worth 5 marks and granted to John Herbert in October 1465.³ By 1478-9 there were seven annuities on the account: the inclusion of Stoke-below-Hamdon items in the account may however help to explain the rise in the number of annuitants. The augmentation of the second Earl's landed stake in south-west England may have caused him to

the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. A number of/members of Swansea and Gower were being administered by officials who were termed 'reeves' but received stipends in 1448-9. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts.; D.L. 29/651/10531.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 Worsley was a significant member of the West Country gentry. As the 'King's servitor', he had been granted the constabulary of Dunster in 1462.

pay more attention to attracting supporters among the local gentry. Certainly, one of these annuities of 1478-9 was of very recent origin. The inclusion of at least two men associated with Dorset rather than Somerset, William Hussy and John Scott, perhaps indicates that their connexion was with Stoke, rather than Dunster. The value of the annuitiess paid was however still not very significant at nearly £12 in a discharge of £334. Two of the annuitants were relatives of the Herbert family; William Herbert receiving a half payment of his yearly 5 marks, and Sir Thomas Vaughan half of his £10 annuity.¹

Annuities in favour of relatives seem, in fact, to have been quite common. Ten pounds was thus paid from Magor in 1482-3 to Morgan Rede and Margaret Lewis, his wife, as compensation for her dower rights in the lands of her ~~former~~ husband, Thomas Herbert. The payment does not seem to have been ^{of} a once and for all type, since a similar sum had been received by Morgan in 1478-9.² It is clear from the Penrhos, Bettws and Maindiffi accounts that William Herbert was in receipt of a £20 annuity charged upon one or more of those estates in the late 1470's. In 1480-1 ^{of} a discharge of £27 on the Penrhos account, sums allowed in respect of payments to William Herbert accounted for over £19.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509 and 1589. Nearly £5.17s. was allowed in respect of the payment of the preceding year, and £13.11s.2d. for the lordship's current contribution. The residue of the current payment was to come from Maindiffi.

Other annuities seem to have been inherited with the estates on whose revenues they were charged, or had been assumed at the time of purchase to assuage individuals' rights in the property. The latter was probably the case with the dowager Duchess of Norfolk's payments from Chepstow.¹ In west Wales the Carew bailiff of 1475-6 and 1477-8 paid annuities worth £2.13s.4d. by authorisation of a charter of Nicholas Carew, the previous lord.² Finally, at Wyesham-Monmouth £10 a year was allowed in the 1450's as paid to Joan Lychefield, the widow of the merchant Sir William Lychefield. This annuity was payable during Joan's life from the lands of her former husband, John ap Guillim, the probable past tenant of lands acquired by the Herbert family. The annuity, whose full value was £20, was not allowed after 1457-8.³

There seem also to have been a few old servants among the annuitants. Elizabeth Cole, whose annuity of £3.6s.8d. was disallowed on the Dunster Receiver's account of 1478-9, was perhaps one such pensioner: her annuity was for life and had been granted by the Earl in 1478.⁴ Philip Lloid, who was receiving an annuity of 30s. from Trelleck by the Earl's charter of 1475, was perhaps the same Philip Lloid who was serving as the bailiff of Wyesham-Monmouth in 1482-3.⁵

1. Page 200.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 1508.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579 and bill 7, and 1580.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558. For her connexion with the Countess Anne, see above, page 198 note 1.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1590, and 1510.

The evidence does not suggest that the burden of annuities on the Herbert estates was heavy, although the larger sums might be significant in the discharges of small estates. Moreover, while there are some annuitants whose connexion with the family is not immediately obvious, in many cases the annuitants were members of the family, and their annuities merely the incidents of internal, family settlements.

4. Official costs:

The borderline between wages and official costs becomes difficult to define in the lower levels of the administration. Men were thus hired for specific administrative tasks: the collection of tolls on fair-days,¹ the custody of the forest at pannage time,² the protection of saplings in the forest,² the throwing-up of enclosures³ and the carrying of messages.² The more regular and important official costs encountered on the rolls are however of four main types; the costs of the audit, the Steward's expenses while holding the lordship's courts, the accountant's costs, and incidental costs (like the expenditure on parchment and other materials for the administration's use).

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565. (Haverford)

2. Badminton M.R., 1568 (Gilgerran)

3. Badminton M.R., 1509 (Penrhos)

Audit costs were often the most important of the official costs. Most of the official expenditure of the Newport Receiver in 1465-6 was concerned with the audit, which had been held before the Auditor and the Receiver-General in Newport in September 1466: even so, these allowances did not account for £2 of a total discharge of over £600.¹ In 1465-6 the Dunster Receiver was allowed about £3 as 'foreign expenses'. These had included the costs of Richard Lussher, the Auditor, in coming from his Surrey home to Dunster for the audit, and in returning. In addition, wine, fodder, fuel and candles ^{had} had/to be provided for the Steward, Auditor and Receiver, and a reward given to the Prior of Dunster, who, by ancient custom, housed the ministers. Then, ^aman had been hired to ride to Raglan for the books of account for the preceding year, and another sent to warn the local ministers of the Auditor's coming.² The 1462-3 Haverford Receiver was allowed £1.13s.4d. in this respect: the costs were those of the Receiver-General and the Auditors at Haverford for the audit 'as well as in divers places by the way, etc..³ The audit often involved a general supervision of the area and its property: in 1454-5 a formidable battery of officials - the Auditor, Improver, King's Receiver, and Steward - spent 8 days and nights at Monmouth, and the allowance clause makes it plain that, as well as the auditing of the accounts, various defects were also investigated.⁴ A 'view-of-account' was apparently also taken at Monmouth; in the same year the

1. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 Lussher's fee was also paid at £2 and the court clerk rewarded for his work on the account rolls.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579. At Castle Walwyn in 1463-4 £1 was allowed for the expenses of the Receiver-General, the Receiver and many tenants in renewing the lordship's survey, N.L.W. Badminton, M.R., 1567.

Improver's and another official's expenses in Monmouth in Pentecost week 'for the supervision and determination of the bailiffs etc.' were allowed.¹

The Steward's court costs are a fairly regular item on the accounts. The costs at Chepstow seem to have been quite high. In 1482-3 £3.10s. was allowed to the collector of the town perquisites in this respect; £1.0s.6d. to the Tidenham bailiff, and nearly 11s. to the Bedell.² In 1465-6 at Minehead the court clerk received a £2 fee, and the Steward £2.5s. for holding courts in various places. The Steward further received sums ranging from 4d. at Radlet to 11s. at East Quantoxhead and amounting to about 16s.³ At Castle Walwyn in 1463-4 the Bedell was allowed a fee of £2 because he bore the cost of the Steward's goings and comings to hold the courts, as well as the cost of a gallon of wine for each session.⁴

Accountants were frequently allowed their expenses for specific tasks undertaken on the lord's behalf. These 'foreign' expenses were often concerned with journeys beyond the lordship's confines. In 1465-6 the Dunster Receiver was allowed a number of such expenses. They included his costs from January to March 1466 'both at Dunster, as well as riding to London with the lord's money'; 'his costs from Raglan to Sodbury', and his expenses at Salisbury.⁵ In 1453-4 the Wyesham accountant claimed his expenses for riding to Hereford with the annuity charged on

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, (bill 1)
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510 Nevertheless, these officials discharged about £160 between them.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

the lordship's revenues.¹ A bill on the 1468-9 account contains a claim by Thomas Lybyck for his expenses and those of Jacked 'riding on my lord's message to the north country to one Fe [?] Herbert'.²

While the personnel of Wyesham were probably much used in this way because of the nearness of the property to Raglan, the accounts of west Wales also reveal a fair amount of official coming and going. At Cilgerran, for example, the 1475-6 improver of the weir was allowed a small sum 'for his costs in coming many times from Cilgerran to Pembroke both in bringing monies, as well as for the conclusion of this account and the warning of the ministers and for other causes'.³

Finally, there were the sums allowed for parchment, paper, wax and the other necessities of medieval estate accounting. These allowances - which were often allowed at the same rate year after year - were not very significant. The 'necessary expenses' of the Haverford Receiver of 1456-7 did not amount to £2: the total allowances on the account were worth about £63. Some of the items are typical of the administrative purchases of a local receipt, or one of the more important single estates. Parchment for the court and account rolls, the duplicate account rolls and the estreats cost 13s.4d.; bags bought for carrying the cash liveries cost a few shillings, and an accounting cloth for the exchequer table 6s.8d.⁴ At Wyesham, where the cost of parchment and paper did not usually exceed 2s. a year, the 1454-5 entries are enlivened by the purchase of counters.⁵

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1588, bill 15.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579. Occasionally, extra parchment was purchased for a specific land transaction: at Wyesham in 1462-3 the additional supplies were 'to make deeds between my lord and John ap Jankyn Pers', Badminton M.R., 1583, bill 7.

5. Repairs:

Repair costs were generally rather erratic items of the discharge. They could however come into prominence; especially in west Wales, where lordships were perhaps more encumbered than those in the east with buildings which were expensive to maintain.

The Treasurer of Pembroke's 1461-2 account contains relatively heavy repair costs, which reflect, in part, the troubled state of south Wales in the 1460's. The repairs done in Pembroke Castle had consumed about £14 in the first half of the year and nearly £21 in the second.¹ Some indication of the scale of the alterations to the Castle/^{is} to be found in the decay allowances of the 1475-6 Pembroke town account, where we read of 11½ burgages which were burnt and torn down for the Castle's defence at the first coming of Lord Herbert and other king's commissioners in September 1461. In 1475-6 the Treasurer spent nearly £19 on repairs: the work was largely concerned with the Castle, although over £4 was also spent on the mills. Repair costs were moreover allowed on the ministerial accounts; the £2 spent on Tenby Castle, the £1 in Pembroke town for the making of stalls in the market-place, and the £2 on a property in West Pembroke being the more important items.²

Repair and construction costs were possibly even more important at Haverford. In 1456-7 the Receiver spent well over £20 on the mills and the Castle. In 1462-3 the repair bill was very significant; the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564. The Treasurer's discharge stood at about £760.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. The local discharges - excluding decays - amounted to about £270.

Receiver having paid drafts to the Constable totalling over £135 for the re-construction of the Haverford mills.¹ Of a total discharge of about £160, repair costs had consumed well over £137.²

The cost of repairs to the weir at Cilgerran was similarly important. In 1464-5 the weir, which had been newly-constructed in 1434-5, was again under construction. Thirty-three pounds was allowed for the wages of carpenters and labourers working 'on land' and 'in the water' constructing a foundation for half of the weir. It is moreover clear from the rubric that over the course of three years about £64 had been spent on the weir. In addition, a sum of about £1.9s. was respited to the Receiver in this respect in 1464-5: including this respite, the Receiver's discharge amounted to £69.³

Repair costs seem, on the other hand, to have been fairly unimportant in the discharges of the Dunster estates. They were at their most important in the town itself, at Carhampton Berton, and East Quantoxhead. In 1465-6 £1.13s. had been spent by the town bailiff on repairs to Dunster Castle, and about 5s. on items purchased for the prison. In addition, about £1.15s. of the preceding year's charge was allowed for the value of iron used to repair Minehead mill and provide cobbards for the Castle kitchen. The total discharge on the account was worth about £28. At Carhampton, nearly £2 was spent on repairing houses of the manor of Minehead, the mill and the hedge of a close: including decay allowances,

1 & 2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566. It is perhaps of significance, given the date and Herbert's commission to bring Wales to heel, that a fair proportion of the £2 spent on the Castle was concerned with the prison there.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1569 and 1568. The restoration of the weir was clearly a mammoth task. One carpenter was paid for 130 days work; another worked for 118 days; the carpenters were allowed their expenses at the preliminary inspection of the weir, and a number of men had to be hired to help the carpenters set 'le Frame' in the water.

£84 was discharged by the bailiff that year. The 1465-6 total discharge of £32 at East Quantoxhead included over £6 for repair work to the manor's houses.¹

At Crickhowell repair costs discharged on the Receiver's account were occasionally important. Although in 1477-8 only about £1 was so discharged, in 1480-1 well over £6 was spent on the mills and weirs, and about £1 on the Castle, (Local expenses - as opposed to liveries and assignments - amounted to £39 on the Receiver's 1480-1 account.)²

The cost of repairs consumed remarkably little of Newport's charge in 1465-6. Work on the mills at Rumney cost a little over £2, but the total allowances on that account were worth over £30. (The farming of the lordship's mills undoubtedly helps to explain the small cost of servicing them.) The Receiver only spent about £1 on repairs and cleaning work on the Castle.³

Repair and building costs were not very important elements of the discharges of estates in the Raglan area. At Maindiffi the highest value in this respect is found on the 1481-2 account, when about 11% of the total discharge was spent on the repairs to the mill and the manor house, on and/the enclosure of land.⁴ _____

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1558.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12 and 2610.

3. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587, 1589, 1590 and 1509.

——At Penrhos in 1480-1 repairs to the mill cost nearly 18s, and £1 was assigned to further work on this property: other repair work brought the total allowance to about 25s., but the total discharge stood at £27.¹ At Chepstow in 1477-8 the only repair cost allowed was an insignificant sum on the Receiver's account for work done to the mill.²

The most detailed information regarding repair work is found on the Wyesham/Monmouth accounts. The cost of repairs was clearly erratic: for 1461-2 all that can be found are costs of less than £1, whereas in 1462-3 the allowances total £4.15s. The proportion of the annual discharge spent on repairs was possibly slightly higher at Wyesham than on other estates in the area. The nature of the lordship's properties may help to explain this heavier expenditure on repairs. A fair proportion of the allowances concerned urban, even industrial, properties. In 1462-3, for example, when a total of just over £415s. was spent in a discharge of £45.15s.,³ one of the properties under repair was a brewery: as well as the tiling and repair work done, the brew-house was re-equipped. This re-equipment consumed the bulk of the expenditure; a furnace was installed, as well as 'boards for beds within the said place'. In addition to the £1.5s. spent on the brew-house, a further £3 was allowed for repairs to other places in Monmouth, including 'the dyeing place' where another furnace was installed.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.

3. This discharge figure excludes decay allowances of £7. See Table V.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583 bills 7, 6 and 5. In view of the title 'merchant' given to Thomas Herbert and the other hints about the family's involvement in trade, this reference to the Earl's probable participation in a branch of the textile industry is of interest. Monmouth specialised in the manufacture of caps in the fifteenth century.

6. Agricultural costs;

Agricultural costs were occasionally important items of the discharge. Of a discharge of £16.2s. at Llantilio Crossenny in 1463-4, £4.2s. was allowed as paid to the permanent servants—two ploughmen and two drivers hired for twelve months; about £1.7s. for the cost of labour hired for particular tasks — harrowing, weeding, mowing, threshing and hedging—and eight shillings for the maintenance of the equipment. In 1468-9, when the Llantilio official discharged £24, the wages of the permanent staff stood at nearly £4.15s; seasonal help had cost 16s.4d., and the maintenance of the equipment 6s. The information for 1477-8 is less precise; but, of a total discharge of nearly £19, almost £6 had been spent on the wages of the ploughmen and the 'other costs of the husbandry', and just over £3 on the harvesting of the hay and the purchasing of victuals for the lady's household.¹

In 1463-4 the Penrhos bailiff was allowed £11.12s. in all: of which sum, 16s.8d. had been paid to men hired to transport tithe-corn from Penrhos to the grange. The bulk of the Penrhos's agricultural expenditure was however borne by the Llantilio accountant. Wages paid to the permanent staff had cost nearly £3.9s. Weeding, mowing, harrowing and threshing consumed a further 13s., and the maintenance of the equipment about 6s. Similarly, in 1468-9 the Llantilio accountant was allowed the wages of two ploughmen and two drivers at nearly £4.15s., 13s. for seasonal help, and nearly 8s. for the smith's work on the equipment.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587 and 1508.

A mark had also been paid to a man hired for 'the keeping of the Penrhos grange'. The later Penrhos accounts reveal some evidence of this kind—in 1479–80, for instance, nearly 12s. was spent on the enclosure of the Lord's land and two barns were hired for storing grain at a cost of about 8s. – but the main costs were clearly still being met from another source.¹

Wyesham–Monmouth also appears to have had a significant level of agricultural expenditure in the 1450's. In 1454–5, for instance, over £7 was allowed to the bailiff, whose annual discharge (excluding decay allowances of £516s.) amounted to about £35.² By the 1460's, this expenditure seems to have dropped markedly. Even so, the nature of the allowances – many of the small sums allowed were paid for the dressing and carting of crops³ – suggests a degree and type of activity which was generally rare.

On the other hand, Wellington (Hereforeshire) had agricultural costs of a more common type. In 1477–8 £2.12s. was allowed as spent on repairs, the cleaning of the moat, and the enclosure of land. How much the latter item cost we cannot tell, but it was certainly an insignificant item of the discharge. At Moynes Court in the same year a small sum was allowed for the repair of the pinfold. In 1456–7 at Stradewy similarly small sums were allowed for the repair of barns and the enclosure of a meadow.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1587 and 1509.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579. For the details of this expenditure see Chapter 2, page 117 n. 1.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, bill 4.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 2514.

The agricultural expenditure at Newport/Wentloog was also fairly limited. Apart from the repairing of pinfolds, this expenditure was wholly concerned with the pannage operations and the hunt, and did not exceed £1 in all.¹

The expenditure in west Wales was also of a restricted, pastoral kind. Of £273 discharged on the local accounts of Pembroke County in 1475-6, only £3.4s. can be regarded as agricultural costs. The rent of 13 acres of meadow at Castlemartin was thus allowed because they had been mown for the Earl's horses, and the mowing, making and transporting of the hay to the Castle had consumed a further 18s. At Kyngeswood and Gawdon the rent of a meadow which had provided hay for the lord's use was similarly allowed at £1.²

At Leweston (Haverford) in 1462-3 £1.3s. of a total discharge of £16.7s. was allowed to the accountant for the mowing of land in Aylershull on the lord's behalf. This is the only cost of its kind to be found on the accounts for Haverford and its members.³

Agricultural expenditure on the Herbert estates of south-west England was of this order too. The Minehead bailiff was thus allowed small costs in 1461-2 and 1464-5 for a bolt purchased for the pinfold and the cost of driving animals to the park. Small sums were similarly allowed to the 1465-6 Carhampton Berton bailiff. A reward had been given to a man for looking after the animals in 'Waterles'; various men hired to drive the animals feeding in Mershwood, Caremore and other properties,

1. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 The discharge total excludes decay allowances.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

and a rent allowed for a property used by 50 of the lord's beasts. In 1461-2 mowing and haymaking had consumed over 10s., and more than £1.4s. had been spent upon the enclosure of various properties.¹

Thus, with a few notable exceptions, agricultural costs were not of great importance on the Herbert estates. They usually involved repair work to the pinfold and the hiring of labour for driving livestock, enclosing properties and making hay. The items generally emphasize the importance of livestock, and over large areas 'farming' clearly meant pastoral agriculture; at least so far as the administration was concerned. It is only in close proximity to Raglan that one gets clear indications of significant arable activity on the part of the Herbert family.

7. Other costs:

The most important of this group of costs were the sums paid by local officials to the chief lords of the properties held by the family. Repaid rents and farms varied greatly in their significance. They were comparatively rare in west Wales; where Herbert was himself the chief lord under the Crown. Nor were they very important in south-west England. The rent of £1 paid by the Oysterlowe (Llanstephan) bedell to the Itinerant Bailiff of Carmarthen for Cilgerran weir and the £40 farm paid by the Llandovery Receiver to Lord Audley were exceptions to the rule in west Wales.² The most important repaid rents on the Dunster

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1568 and 1562.

accounts are found on the Iveton, Chilton Lutterell and Blanecombe accounts. At Iveton a pepper rent valued at 1s.2d. was being paid by the bailiff to the heir of the lord of Bremfeld in 1465-6; the Bishop of Exeter received 1s. at his hundred of Hayridge from the Chilton Lutterell bailiff, and the lord of Honiton 2s.8d. from Blanecombe. (The sum of allowances and liveries at Blanecombe was worth £6 in 1465-6).¹

In south-east Wales however these allowances could be quite important. At Wyesham-Monmouth in 1453-4 the bailiff was paying about £3.6s. to officials of the Duchy of Lancaster; the Prior and Sacristan of Monmouth; the bailiff of the liberty of St. John the Baptist; the vicar of Dixton, and the lords of Dixton and Garth. The amount repaid rose markedly with the acquisition of the Sergeant property in 1462-3. In addition to the farm^{of} £5.16s., the bailiff also bore an increase in the value of the chief rents paid. The basic sum - of about £3.8s. - was swollen by a number of additions: another 19s. was owed to the king; another 10s.8d. to the Prior; nearly 4s. to the lord of Dixton, and 2s. to the lord of Newton. (Two other additions probably resulted from the acquisition; a sum of 5s. payable to the king for five burgages in Monmouth and a rent of a few pence owed to the lord of Dixton). By 1466-7 repaid rents and farms were accounting for £11 of an annual discharge of about £58 - excluding decays. The value of this item decreased markedly in 1469-70; partly as a consequence of Isabelle Sergeant's re-occupation of her lands. A sum of £1.9s. was also pardoned by the king for the Michaelmas term of that year: this probably represents a concession

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

made to the newly-widowed Countess in the Autumn of 1469. By 1477-8 and 1482-3 the chief rents for the Sergeant lands had re-appeared, but the farm of £5.16s. is not mentioned. In 1482-3 only half a year's payment to the king was allowed, and there was also a reduction in the payments to the Prior and Sacriston of Monmouth.¹

The Llantilio Crossenny official had similar charges on his revenues. The Bishop of Llandaff was thus owed £1 for the manor of Llantilio - a sum which was often disallowed because of its payment by the lord, and the king £2.13s. for lands in Llantilio Regis and £9 as the farm of the White Castle demesne. The latter farm was paid in part by the assignment of the tenants' rents: the contribution made by the rents however declined from the 1463-4 level until, by 1482-3, they only accounted for about half of the farm. The balance of the farm was paid by the bailiff. (This decline in rent production at White Castle may have been a consequence of the expansion of the park.)² As at Wyesham, on two occasions the payments to the king were reduced: in 1468-9 the payments were halved by the king's allowance in respect of the preceding Michaelmas term, and in 1482-3 the payments for the last half of the year were allowed. In 1463-4 the repaid rents at Llantilio accounted for £3 in a total discharge of £16.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1583, 1586, 1588, 1508 and 1510. So far as the payments to the Crown are concerned, the explanation is perhaps administrative and connected with Edward IV's death, which occurred roughly half way through the financial year.
2. See Chapter 2.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587, 1585, 1508 and 1510.

The sums repaid at Maendiffi were as significant as those of Llantilio: in 1479-80 they amounted to £3.5s.; the total discharge was then worth £14.6s. Rents totalling £1.4s. had been repaid to the Prior of Abergavenny, and £2 paid to William Thomas ap John for the release of his rights in the manor. In 1481-2, in addition to the £2 remitted to William Thomas, a pound was also paid to Robin ap John for the release of his rights.¹

Local officials also paid out small sums for the relaxation of the lord's obligation to do suit to the court of another lord. These payments seem to have been especially common in south-west England. In 1465-6 the East Quantoxhead bailiff paid 1s. to the bailiff of Williton hundred for the common fine; an ancient customary due paid for exemption from attendance at the sheriff's tourn. At Vexford payments for the lord's suit of court were made to the bailiffs of Stogumber, Netelcombe and Donyfford. Similarly, the Iveton bailiff paid 6s. to the Williton bailiff for the relaxation of the lord's suit, and the Chilton Lutterell official a smaller sum to the Bishop of Exeter at his hundred of Hayridge. These payments were never of importance so far as the discharge was concerned.²

The administration occasionally paid tallage to superior lords. In some cases it seems probable that the burden was borne by the tenants, and that the administration was only involved when properties were empty. In 1464-5 at Wyesham-Monmouth 18s. was paid to the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1590.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

Crown as the tallage due from properties in the lord's hands in Monmouth, Dixon and Newton. At Maindiffi in 1481-2 two payments described as tallage were made to the Duke of Gloucester. A mark had been paid for his tallage 'in his journey towards Scotland last year'; the current payment was worth half that amount. In 1463-4 less than £1 was paid by Castle Walwyn officials to the collectors of the Earl's tallage; 7s.6d being discharged on the Fletherhull account for bond lands there, and 10s on the Bedell's account for Malefaunte lands in ward at Burton.¹

For a variety of reasons - some of which cannot be fathomed from the terse language of the accounts—rents were released to tenants. Some of the beneficiaries were related to the family. Margaret, the widow of Sir Richard Herbert, was thus allowed part of her rent by the Countess Anne on the 1468-9 Maindiffi account. A decade later at Dingestow rent valued at 13s.4d. was allowed to John Herbert's wife in part-payment of 10 marks assigned to her. Margaret 'Harbrige', who was allowed rent of £1.13s.4d. on the 1482-3 Lebenyth-Caerleon account in part-payment of a sum of £20 which the family had been paying off since January 1473, is perhaps also to be identified with Sir Richard's widow. (Margaret was also owed an annuity of £1.13s.4d. a year; 6s.8d. of which was paid in 1482-3.) Other rents were allowed as a consequence of land settlements and exchanges. Thus, ^{at} Penrhos in 1463-4 £1.13s.4d. was allowed for lands granted to Richard ap David Vaughan in exchange for his manor of Pen-y-clawdde.² Although these items were rarely worth much in absolute terms, they might be relatively important on

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594, 1590 and 1567.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587, 1509, 1510 and 1585.

the smaller properties.

Tithe payments were often included among the incidental discharge allowances on the local official's account. These payments were rarely significant. In some cases moreover the tithe had become the responsibility of those farming the demesne and its properties; as at Carhampton Berton in 1461-2 where the tithe of the grain mills was disallowed because it was the farmers' obligation.¹

Finally, one finds certain foreign costs of a legal type on the accounts. At Chilton Lutterell in 1465-6 the bailiff was allowed £1.8s. of the arrears of 1461-2; this sum having been paid to the royal Escheator as a reward and for his costs and those of certain jurors inquiring into certain matters. (The cost's allowance had presumably been delayed because of the transference of Dunster to William Herbert by a royal grant of June 1463.) A similar allowance is found on the Wellington account for 1477-8, where 5s. is allowed as paid to the constable and bailiffs of the king distraining upon the land of the Countess's tenants for fines of the green wax. At Carhampton Berton in 1478-9 the bailiff was similarly allowed 6s., which he had paid to two itinerant bailiffs who came into the lordship to distrain by virtue of an Exchequer writ. In this case, the reason for the payment is stated: it was to obtain their favour in the same matters 'pro eorum benivolencia in eisdem materiis habendiis'.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557, 1508 and 1558.

These then were the main ways in which the revenues collected were discharged. So far as the majority of properties were concerned discharge was wholly, or largely, effected by the payment of cash to a superior, receiving official. In a few cases however the revenues were heavily spent at source by direction from the centre, or paid to assignees bearing letters of warranty. Of the other means of discharge, the cost of repairs could achieve significance, but tended to fluctuate from year to year; agricultural costs were, as one would expect from the charge information, rarely important; the sums owed to superior lords were only significant in a few cases, and official costs, fees, wages and annuities were, on the whole, not very important.

* * * * *

Evidence of change in the discharge patterns of particular estates has already been touched upon, so it only remains to restate it briefly here.

There is firstly evidence to suggest that the fees paid to the higher officials were becoming less significant; at least in some lordships. At Haverford in 1456-7 Geoffrey Pole received £20 as the fees of his offices of Steward and Constable, which he almost certainly performed by deputies. By 1462-3 John Harry - the deputy of the 1456-7 Itinerant Bailiff - was being paid £3.6s.8d. as Supervisor and Constable, although the Constable's office alone had been valued at £6.13s.4d. in the earlier year. Similarly, the Itinerant Bailiff/Janitor of 1456-7 received £6; that is, 2d a day for each office: whereas his 1462-3 successor as Itinerant Bailiff received only £2.¹ It is probable

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566.

that these reduced rates represent the real cost of staffing the lordship; as opposed to the 1456-7 fees which had included an element of profit for the nominal officers.

On the other hand, while there is evidence of the rationalization of the staffing of the other western lordships, this process was apparently not accompanied by the reduction and consolidation of stipends. Such rationalization was especially needed in West Wales, where Herbert held a few semi-autonomous lordships centred upon the County of Pembroke, and plurality of office-holding was the means adopted to introduce some cohesion into the administration of the area. In 1461-2 William Herbert, esquire, held the offices of Treasurer and Steward of the County: by 1463-4 he was also the Steward of Castle Walwyn. His successor and namesake held the major offices of the County, as well as the receiverships of Carew, Castle Walwyn and Cilgerran and the stewardships of Carew and Castle Walwyn. In the case of none of these offices however were the fees of 1475-6 different in form or amount from those allowed in the early 1460's.¹

The single account for the lordship of Stradewy/Tretower suggests that, even where a lordship had been practically streamlined in this way, the force of inertia or conservatism dictated the retention of the old forms; and possibly of the old rewards. In 1482-3 Roger Bradstone monopolised all of the lordship's offices; including that of Receiver. Yet the charges of the separate accounts were still religiously detailed under the accustomed heads: the 'local officials' discharges were slight

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564, 1567, 1503, 1568 and 1569.

(consisting of a few standard allowances), and the bulk of the revenues were 'transferred' to the Receiver's account, where the lordship's expenditure was allowed. Bradstone's fee as Receiver was almost certainly included in the omnibus expenditure clause on his account, but not, apparently, his remuneration for his local duties, for 6s.8d. was allowed on the Welsh bedell's account as his stipend.¹ This traditionalism may have been more typical of the administrative situation of the estates than the changes at Haverford.

A rather more concrete indication of change is found on the Crickhowell accounts; the Receivers' accounts from the time of the Pauncefote lords differing markedly from those of the 1470's. In 1447-8, for instance, only about £16 was allowed for the 'local' costs borne by the Receiver, and the bulk of his discharge - £58 - was paid as cash to the centre. The situation in 1477-8 was much the same so far as the local expenditure was concerned; but the simplicity of the livery payments had been replaced by the payment of drafts to Household officials; of cash to the lord and members of his family, and of sums to the lord's creditors and the suppliers of specific goods. The bill on the 1480-1 account moreover suggests that this complexity was normal by the late 1470's. It seems probable that the decentralization of expenditure in this case was a development of the late 1460's or 1470's; for the Receiver-General's accounts of the mid-1460's record high liveries from Crickhowell.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 9, 12, 2610, 1501, 1502 and 1503.

Table VI

Liveries to the centre¹

Property:	1430/1 (£)	1434/5 (£)	1446/7 (£)	1447/8 (£)	1461/2 (£)	1463/4 (£)	1464/5 (£)	1465/6 (£)	1466/7 (£)	1467/8 (£)	1468/9 (£)	1475/6 (£)	1477/8 (£)	1479/80 (£)	1480/1 (£)	1481/2 (£)	1482/3 (£)
PEMROKE : TREASURER					120			479	433	482		c.163					
CRICKHOWELL : RECEIVER	19	38	96	58				146	170	112			25	69	?		
CILGERRAN : RECEIVER		109					21	54	86	89		?					
LLANSTEPHAN : RECEIVER		69					36	43	60	70		51					
PENRHOS/BETTWS						13		19	29	32	30			4	-	-	
LLANTILIO								3	1	-	1		-				-
DINGESTON/TAL-Y-FAN/ PEN-Y-CLAWDD						36		37	-	-				19	22	21	
CASTLE WALWYN : RECEIVER						54		48	49	48							?
STRADGWY/TRETOWER								56	31	49		?					
MAINDIFFI						<u>1462-4</u> 16		20	23	19	29			7	-	4	
BRYNGWYN							3	2	3	2							
CAERIDON							5	4	3	2	3						
GOYTRE and LLANOVER							3	2	5	7	3						

1. Including liveries to members of Herbert family; but not drafts to Household officials.

Liveries to the centre (contd.):

Property:	1430/1 (£)	1434/5 (£)	1446/7 (£)	1447/8 (£)	1461/2 (£)	1463/4 (£)	1464/5 (£)	1465/6 (£)	1466/7 (£)	1467/8 (£)	1468/9 (£)	1475/6 (£)	1477/8 (£)	1479/80 (£)	1480/1 (£)	1481/2 (£)	1482/3 (£)
LLANDEWI RHYDDERCH						4		2	4	7							
USK PARISH						3		-	-	3	3						
LACHARNE								7	29	29	42						
CALDICOT								12	31	50							45
NEWTON								10	12	44							→23?
MAGOR, MILESCOURT and CUR. REG.								39	47	34							?
HAVERFORD : RECEIVER					<u>1456/7</u> -	<u>1462/3</u> 5		130	147	154							
LLANDOVERY : RECEIVER								100 ²	28	94							
WELLINGTON and YAZOR								10	13	16			?				?
LLANVAIR								-	3	4	4						
ABERYSTWYTH						2		-	-	4							

2. Delivered to 'the receipt' of Lord Herbert: it does not appear on the account of the Receiver-General for 1465/6.

How typical is the pattern discerned in the Crickhowell accounts? There are certainly grounds for the belief that the mid-1460's saw an administrative effort to maximise the production of cash. The Pembroke Treasurer, who only managed to send £120 to the Receiver-General in 1461-2, was remitting over £400 by the mid-1460's, while the Cilgerran liveries rose from £21 in 1464-5 to nearly £90 in 1467-8. Much the same tendency is noticeable in the cases of Llanstephan; Penrhos/Bettws; Maindiffi; Goytre and Llanover; Llanddewi Rhydderch; Lagharne; Caldicot; Newton; Haverford, and Wellington. (See Table VI). A reason for this emphasis on the production of cash is not hard to find: these were, after all, the years in which ready cash would have been most needed for the purposeful prosecution of Herbert's task of bringing Wales to the Yorkist heel. Unless the overall values of the discharges were also increasing, the higher liveries on the Receiver-General's accounts must have been produced by a diminution of direct, local expenditure. It may thus be that the discharges of the middle 1460's were considerably simpler than those of the succeeding years. The situation of the 1470's is also fairly uniform in this respect: there seems to have been a general fall in the value of the cash produced. In some cases - including the important ones of Crickhowell and Pembroke County - the lower liveries are very probably indices of increased levels of direct expenditure. (So far as some of the other properties are concerned, the fall was probably related to a decrease in the overall value of the discharge. This is a problem which will be reviewed when the arrears evidence is discussed in the next chapter.)

The evidences of change so far as the discharge is concerned are on the whole less important than those which modified our view of the charge. The explanation for this perhaps lies in the great veracity of the discharge information. Expenditure was less capable of encapsulation in formulae which quickly became out of date: the variability of the items went a long way towards preventing the fossilization of the discharge side of the account. If any general conclusion can be drawn, it is perhaps that direct expenditure, a feature of some lordships in the 1460's, seems to have been on the increase during the 1470's, and was, at least on some estates, well-established by the early 1480's.

* * * * *

The estates held by William Herbert and his son thus differed from each other in many respects. There were certainly unifying features, and the estates were probably becoming more alike as they shed their less-remunerative, distinguishing characteristics. The significance of rents and farms as a source of income and of liveries as a means of discharge was almost universal by the mid-15th. century. But beyond this basic and increasing unity there lay considerable differences. The most obvious was perhaps that of size. There was clearly little similarity between Bryngwyn with its £4.10s. current charge and Haverford, with its varied charge worth more than £100 and relatively sophisticated organizational structure.

Many of the differences can be regarded as geographical ones. The Herbert estates were concentrated in three separate areas of Wales and the West Country. Their location affected their character in many ways. The properties in the Usk valley area were, for instance, doubly-suited to the continuance of some seigneurial, agricultural activity. The district was not only favourable for the production of cereal crops, but

it also contained the lordship of Raglan, the head of the Herbert estates and the principal residence of the family and its staff. Thus, Llantilio and Penrhos came to be differentiated from the bulk of the properties, largely as a result of their location. Similarly, the commercial profits drawn from busy ports like Chepstow, Haverford and Minehead depended to a great extent upon their location along the sea-routes leading into the great mart of western England, Bristol. The commercial profits of estates, in the interior, on the other hand, bear no resemblance to those of these coastal towns. Then, certain of the estates lay in areas which were heavily settled by the native population. The charges of these properties are consequently characterized by the payment of rents which had developed from ancient, communal renders. ^{thus} The existence of Welshries/distinguished Llandovery; Crickhowell; Tretower/Stradewy; Cilgerran; Gower, and Llanstephan from the other properties.

Location also had an influence on the discharge. Proximity to Raglan, in particular, affected the expenditure of certain estates. Not only did the continuance of seigneurial, agricultural activity involve these properties in kinds of expenditure which were absent on other estates, but it was also clearly more convenient for the lord to direct the use of the issues from nearby Raglan rather than have the surplus cash transported to the Castle and then returned as payment for goods supplied. Wyesham-Monmouth, the best example of this development, was also probably one of the first estates to have its revenues used in this way. It is thus conspicuous by its failure to send cash to the Receiver-General at a time when cash seems to have been pouring into Raglan in larger quantities than in the early 1460's.

Direct expenditure also qualified the sums paid to the centre from the receipts of west Wales; although perhaps less consistently in the 1460's than at Wyesham-Monmouth. These lordships may have had greater capital costs than those in other areas: their location moreover made imperative expenditure - often heavy expenditure - on the upkeep of their defences. In addition to its many miles of coastline, west Wales had also to guard itself against a hinterland of doubtful loyalty to the Yorkist cause.¹ In short, the 'home' estates and the more important administrative and military centres stand in marked contrast to the properties whose main function was to produce revenue and remit it to the local receipt, or the centre.

By the mid-1470's expenditure in west Wales had been more or less concentrated on the Treasurer's account.² In the Monmouth area the situation was apparently rather different. Both expenditure and the collection of surplus cash from the estates seem to have become less unified than they had been in the 1460's. The decentralization of expenditure, in particular, seems to have proceeded apace in the 1470's. In part, these developments probably sprang from Herbert's death in 1469. The unity of the eastern estates may not have lasted beyond October 1475, when the dowager Countess Anne's custody of the estates ended and her son entered his property. From that date, Anne

1. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1962, Chapters 9 and 10. Dr. Griffiths has described the great difficulties experienced by the administration of the southern Principality in raising monies from the commotes during the 1460's and 1470's.
2. The Treasurer's charge consisted of sums from the County proper and from the lordships of Carew, Cilgerran and Castle Walwyn: the Treasurer was concurrently the Receiver in each of these three lordships. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

held certain of these estates in dower. The evidence is unfortunately too thin for us to know conclusively whether the Countess developed a staff of administrators independent of the Earl's, but the temporary partitioning of the estates very probably led to some qualification of the unity of the organization of the south-eastern estates. There thus seems to have been a contrast between the western Welsh estates and those situated around Monmouth by the mid-1470's; a contrast between a relatively unitary system of collection and expenditure, and the somewhat less-coherent situation in an area affected by partition and dower rights.

There were finally differences which had their origin in Herbert's differing tenurial status. Once again, the main contrast is between the eastern and western Welsh estates. In the west Herbert had been installed as a Marcher lord by Edward IV. As such, he was the chief lord of the area, and his income was occasionally boosted by the valuable incidents of the tenure of inferior lords; notably, the proceeds of wardship and marriage. Moreover, as the lord of Pembroke, his justice was of regalian type and scope within the County. In eastern Wales however Sir William ap Thomas and Herbert had built up a number of smaller estates in the interstices of the great lordships of that region: the properties of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Earldom of March and various ecclesiastical corporations were, for the fairly obvious reasons of official connexion, the sources of much of the family's land. Although Herbert did acquire by royal grants a relatively similar position to that he enjoyed in the west so far as Raglan and Crickhowell were concerned, he held many of his properties

in the area as a mesne lord, and in these cases his powers-and hence to some extent his profits - were of a different order from those he enjoyed in Pembroke.

The diversity of the Herbert estates is a characteristic worthy of emphasis, for it is only with some idea of the different, and changing, possibilities with which Herbert and his officials were faced that we can come to a realization of how difficult the formulation of policy for a baronial complex of estates must have been. It may also lead us to suspect that 'policy', in the sense of a rational scheme applicable to a whole complex of estates, may rarely have existed, and that the application of fairly stock remedies by itinerant officials may have been more common than is often suggested; and more successful.

Chapter IV: The efficiency of the management of the estates

The efficiency of a medieval, baronial administration is a very difficult thing to measure. To an extent, this difficulty arises from the fact that the purpose of the main types of estate record was not to determine the profitability of a particular estate - that is, whether or not the capital invested in land and buildings, stock and machinery, was justified by the return, the annual income—but ^{was} to fix the extent of the accountant's financial liability relative to the lord. The rental, the ministerial account and the arrears account were all concerned in their different ways with the assessment of the accountant's indebtedness. The rental listed the tenants by name, their holdings and the value of their rents, and sometimes supplied the values of certain demesne properties. These details of an estate's potential income from land were summarised and reproduced on the charge side of the minister's account, along with the other items for which the accountant was to answer. The account came however a step nearer reality than the rental, for the potential rent-income figure was usually amended there if it became outdated: decayed rents being allowed or respited and new and increased rents added to the official's charge. After the accountant had received allowance for the decayed rents, various items of local expenditure and his liveries of cash to the lord or his officials, the residue of the potential income was held to be due from him. (In rarer cases, the account ended with the lord owing the accountant something). Unless there was settlement at the audit, the sum would be classified as in arrears and carried over to the following year's account. In many cases, the sum owed was not entirely the current official's liability: it would also contain items which had been

carried over from preceding years and were the burdens of past officials. A detailed breakdown of the sum owed was therefore usually recorded in the foot of the account. The arrears position was also sometimes reproduced on a separate roll for the convenience of the official charged with the collection of these sums: this was the arrears account. These estate records clearly had little connexion with the processes of determining an estate's profitability. In none of them do we find a valuation of the stock or buildings of the estate; a piece of information which would be absolutely essential for the calculation of profitability along modern lines.

The valor was the nearest medieval estate-accounting came to the calculation of profitability in documentary form. 'Valor' is, in fact, a generic term for a variety of estate documents; nevertheless, despite differences of form and content, it is possible to generalize about this group of records. The valor was a digest of the ministerial accounts of a large land holder which was intended to provide an overall view of the income from the estates and the charges on that income. The document usually stated the income charged for a particular estate, and arrived at a forecast of the property's clear yield by deducting the allowances for local expenditure. The valor produced, in effect, an estimate of the cash to be paid to the lord by the various, local accountants. At certain points in the document, which corresponded to the administrative groupings of the estates, figures would be supplied for an entire lordship or a receipt, and there was usually a final group of figures which detailed the position for the complex as a whole. The valor, although drawn in an abstract form which divorced the figures

shown from the calculation of personal liability, was nevertheless not essentially different from, and was closely related to, the records designed to fix the accountant's financial responsibility.¹

This is not of course to say that medieval officials never asked whether a particular estate was paying its way, or whether they were getting a good return on the money invested. If this had been so, we should not possess evidence of the kind which demonstrates the cessation of seigneurial agriculture in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But these calculations have left little, direct trace on the records, probably because they were made in the baronial council, or on the spot by the auditor or steward of the complex of estates.

There is however one aspect of these records of personal liability which sheds some light on the efficiency of the administration. This is the information which relates to arrears. As its first item, the minister's account detailed the arrears owing from past years. Part of this sum was usually discharged during the year; but the residue, augmented by undischarged current sums, reappeared in the foot of the account. There the sum was usually broken down and details given as to the length of time an item has been in arrears and the minister, or tenant, responsible for its payment. The arrears information thus provides us with an index of the administration's efficiency in the all-important area of the realization of potential income.

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1. R.R. Davies, 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears in the Later Middle Ages', (in) Economic History Review, August 1968. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, Cardiff 1963. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth Century England', (in) Economic History Review, 1953.

Arrears were the necessary consequence of a system of accounting which had regular, temporal limits. The local account closed theoretically at Michaelmas, but actually as soon as the auditor arrived to hear the year's account.¹ In most cases, not all the rents due at Michaelmas had been raised and paid in by the official when the account was closed. These unpaid amounts were classified as arrears; although they must often have reached the receiving official within a few weeks of the account's closure.² It was sometimes not even expected that the accountant would be able to produce the revenue charged within the space of one accounting year. Pannage dues payable in November were thus, in some cases, charged in the account ending in the preceding September. Judicial items were often payable over periods of more than one accounting year, but it was fairly common practice to charge the whole sum in the first year and to treat the unpaid installments as arrears on subsequent accounts. As Welsh and Marcher lords drew a significant proportion of their revenues from judicial and quasi-judicial sources, arrears tend to appear of special importance on their accounts. Conversely, the allowance of an accountant's expenditure might lag behind the conclusion of his account. This was perhaps most likely in the case of an accountant who had been called upon to purchase items for the Household, for which the auditor might require special warrants signed by the lord.

1. At Wyesham-Monmouth, for example, the audit was not held until December 1470 in respect of the year 1469-70. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588.
2. The Winter payments of cash to the Receiver-General were usually the most valuable he received. See Chapter III, pp. 192-3

Arrears were also bound to occur in a system of accounting which looked to the past for its valuations of income and justifications for expenditure. The rental and the 'preceding accounts' were sources of high authority to the auditor. They were also however sources which were usually antiquated in their valuations. While adjustment was possible on the account, administrations were often tardy in awarding allowances. On occasion, an administration refused allowance and resorted to a holding action against the accountant's claims; by respiting (or adjourning) sums. These respites were nevertheless included among the arrears at the head of the account, and, after such a policy had been pursued for a few years, these sums could assume impressive proportions.

Thus the time factor and the use of antiquated valuations made arrears an inevitable part of medieval estate-accounting. But there were also administrative reasons for the presence of arrears in many cases. By the fifteenth century officials were rarely provided by the community of an estate on a yearly basis; but if stipendiary officials were to be used, it was clearly undesirable for them to serve for just one year in a particular post. The practice of retaining a trusted official in office for several years at a time may have lessened the need to pressure him for the issues on a yearly basis. Although the period of account was still officially a yearly one, the administration may well have taken a longer view when it came to the build-up of arrears on such an official's account. Similarly, when properties were farmed - and especially when they were farmed to men of some standing, there may have been a deliberate easing of administrative pressure on the lessee. Such individuals were possibly trusted because they had greater resources than the humbler

officials of former years. There was moreover the difference of status to be taken into account: it was perhaps not politic to pressurize a wealthy farmer for prompt payment.

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So far as the Badminton collection of manorial records is concerned, we are only able to look closely at the arrears information for two estates, Crickhowell and Wyesham-Monmouth. Even so, our conclusions will have to be tentative, because in neither case are the sequences of accounts really sufficient for a study of this kind.

Crickhowell provides a good example of the way in which the respiting of decay claims could inflate the arrears totals on the accounts.¹ For example, in 1447-8 the arrears figures at the head of the various ministers' accounts totalled nearly £87, as against a charge of about £119. This apparently doubtful situation was largely the result of the way in which decay claims were treated. During 1447-8 three accountants - the Welsh and English reeves, and the Bedell - received no allowances for decayed rents on their accounts; but a total of over £42 was respited in this respect. Of this £42, nearly £39 consisted of respited sums carried over from previous years. The size of the sums respited and the fact that they were in respect of decayed rents possibly means that they were uncollectable arrears, and

1. For Crickhowell we possess a few ministers' accounts dating from the period when the Pauncefote family held the lordship: so far as the fifteenth century is concerned, these are dated 1430-1, 1445-6, 1446-7, and 1447-8. From the period of Herbert ownership, there are only three ministers' accounts; for 1477-8, 1479-80, and 1480-1. Arrears accounts exist for 1437 and 1459. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 1509 and 2610.

would continue to accumulate until they were written off, probably when the rental information was renewed. Thus, of initial arrears of nearly £87, the effective arrears - that is, those which there was some expectation of receiving - were only worth about £48.¹

What was the fate of this £48? In the foot of the accounts for 1447-8 the sums owed were assigned to various officials, past and present. The great bulk of the arrears was owed in respect of the current year: of the sums owed from preceding years - that is, those sums which had been included in the initial, effective arrears of £48 - there remained less than £16. The healthiness of this situation is pointed by the fact that the sums still unpaid from the pre-1447-8 period did not extend back beyond 1445-6 and the bulk - nearly £15 - was owed in respect of the preceding year.

This situation still obtained in one respect in the 1470's. In 1479-80, for instance, the initial arrears total stood at nearly £198. This figure however included sums respited because of decay worth nearly £36. During the year, arrears sums totalling £9 were also allowed because of decay and the pardoning and re-assignment of judicial items. It would thus seem that of initial arrears of £198, the administration could only hope to receive, at the most, about £153.²

But, although the treatment of decays aggravated the arrears problem, it was clearly not a major factor: as we have seen, the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 9.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.

effective arrears were running at a high level by the late 1470's. At the end of 1479-80, effective arrears of nearly £19⁴ appear on the ministers' accounts: the breakdown of these arrears is tabulated below:-

Table VII Crickhowell -
Breakdown of arrears owed on ministers' accounts at the end of 1479/80.

Year from which the sums were owed:	Accountant:						collector - censes & tolls	parker
	Bedell	cachepoll	borough reeve	Welsh reeve	English reeve			
1470/1	1s.8d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1471/2	4s.1d	-	-	-	-	6s.4d	£1.14s.0d	
1472/3	-	£3 .0.0d	-	-	-	11s.2d	10s.9d	
1473/4	4s.0d	-	-	-	-	£7.15s.6d	£1.0s.10d	
1474/5	-	-	£12.14s.10d	£3.5s.0d	£5.10s.5d	£19. 8s.7d	-	
1475/6	£16.15s.0d	2s.1d	£5. 5s.10d	£6.18s.9d	£3.13s.7d	-	£5.12s.10d	
1476/7	15s.1d	1s.5d	-	-	11s.9d	3s.6d	£2. 3s. 4d	
1477/8	17s.4d	4s.11d	£1. 2s.10d	-	£2.11s.7d	£2. 3s.4d	£4. 0s. 0d	
= current and preceding year	1478/9	£1.10s.10d	9s.9d	13s.2d	19s.10d	£1. 4s.7d	-	£4. 0s. 0d
	1479/80	£52.16s.4d	13s.6d	£6. 4s.6d	£5. 6s.0d	18s.4d	£3.13s.9d	£5.16s.5d

The spread of these relatively long-term arrears across all the local, ministerial accounts obscures any particular areas of difficulty. However, it is probably worth noting that the account with the worst ratio of arrears to current charge was that concerned with the collection of the censes, tolls and tollcesters. The number of tollcesters¹ charged had declined steadily between 1430 and 1481, and it seems probable, in view of the arrears information, that this decay was even greater in reality than the charge suggests. The collector of the censes and tolls had also been charged with the farms of the mills until 1474-5. These properties, which seem from the charge information to have maintained their value over the period, were not in fact producing the income charged - or were producing it very tardily. Of the £34 owed on this account, past farmers of the mills were responsible for just over £20. The farms of the coal-mines, which appear on the parker's account, were similarly considerably in arrears; the current farmer owing a total of over £18 on mines currently valued at £4 a year.

It would be unwise to go very far in analysing the arrears situation at Crickhowell in the late 1470's. The figures suggest that there was cause for anxiety so far as the rate and value of the discharge was concerned, but particular areas of difficulty - if they existed - can not be located from the information supplied by the accounts.

The period was moreover clearly an unusual one. The second Herbert Earl had been licensed to enter his estates in 1475, and in 1477-8 the Receiver of Crickhowell was charged with a part of the lord's tallage of recognition, which was worth £100 in all.² The granting of such a tallage

1. See chapter 2.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12.

was usually conditional upon the promise of certain concessions by the lord. The accounts for 1480-1 make it plain that the concession in this case was a financial one, for the majority of the arrears on the ministers' accounts were allowed during that year and the allowance clauses state that the reason for the exoneration of the officials was the payment of the lord's tallage of recognition. It is thus possible that the arrears which had accumulated on the accounts since 1475 were caused, at least in part, by the diversion of cash to the payment of tallage. On the face of it, the Earl got a poor bargain, for the sums written off totalled nearly £125. The allowances cleared not only all the sums owed from before 1477, but also those from more recent years. For example, the sums owed in respect of the coal mines on the parker's account were discharged for all preceding years and the current year. The bargain would possibly seem less disadvantageous to the Earl if we could determine the proportion of bad debts among the arrears written off: the figures tabulated above certainly suggest that there were such debts among the arrears.¹

The arrears situation at the end of 1480-1 was thus much simplified. There were no arrears owing for the period up to 1477. Only relatively small sums were owed in respect of the pre-1480 period, with the possibly significant exception of £1.3s. owed on the censes and tolls account for 1477-8. Because this is the final account we possess for Crickhowell, it is unfortunately not possible to follow the progress of the £48 fine laid on the Welsh tenants for their failure to perform

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2610.

certain services associated with the mill. The fine had originated in 1479-80, but had not been paid, even in part, by the end of 1480-1.

Thus, so far as Crickhowell is concerned, we must reserve judgment as to the success of the Herbert administration in collecting its revenues. The Pauncefote administration certainly seems to have been very efficient, once allowance has been made for the respited decays.¹ The Herbert administration's performance is unfortunately glimpsed during a period which was probably far from typical, when the desire for a quick, cash-return may have caused a temporary and deliberate lapse in the vigilance of the Earl's higher officials.

The accounts for these years do not, on the other hand, give the impression of a permanent or entire lack of administrative stringency. The Bedell's account, for example, contains two new rent items for land formerly concealed. Neither was the administration slow to fine the tenants for their lack of service so far as the mill was concerned.²

The arrears on the Wyesham-Monmouth accounts from the 1450's and 1460's differ from those on the Crickhowell accounts in that the respiting of decay and other claims was not common, and therefore we do not find the initial arrears figures becoming inflated with accumulated respites.³

1. An arrears account detailing the position as it was in March 1459 suggests, it is true, some deterioration in the situation since the 1440's. Making every allowance to clear the short-term arrears and current sums owed, the total of £104 can only be reduced to about £58. The elaboration of this account and the number of officials held liable also indicates a worsening of the situation. However, there is some doubt as to whether the figures include respited sums, so the position may have been quite similar to the earlier one. This account may have been drawn up at about the time that Herbert took the lordship over from Thomas Pauncefote. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 11.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.
3. The sequence of accounts for Wyesham-Monmouth is somewhat better than that for Crickhowell. We possess three accounts from the 1450's; five from the 1460's, and two from the period 1477-83. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508, and 1510.

The Wyesham-Monmouth accounts are however a good example of the way in which a combination of heavy, local expenditure and an accounting system with strict, temporal limits could lead to large, short-term arrears. It frequently happened that the bailiff did not receive allowance for all his expenditure on behalf of the lord and his Household during the year in which he had borne the costs: he was thus technically the lord's debtor at the end of the accounting year. By the time the following year's account was drawn-up, the bailiff had either received the necessary warrants for allowance, or had himself completed his claims for expenses: the items were thus allowed on the current account against the arrears of the preceding official. Allowances of this kind usually all but extinguished the debt of the preceding year. There appears to have been little regularity in the proportion of the bailiff's expenditure passed in the current year, and conversely in that postponed for allowance to the subsequent year. Factors such as the value and complication of the expenditure; its incidence during the year, and the rapidity with which the auditor arrived and the bailiff completed his bills of costs undoubtedly all affected the process of allowance. Some of the effects of this incongruity of expenditure and allowance can be seen in the table of arrears to 1469-70.

Table VIII: Wyesham-Monmouth - Arrears to 1469/70

Year	i) Initial Arrears	ii) Respites included	iii) Arrears sums allowed during the year	iv) Effective arrears at the end of the year
1453/4	£6 . 4s . 4d	-	-	£6 . 4s . 4d
1454/5	£29 . 16s . 8d	-	£17 . 17s . 8d ³	£11 . 19s . 0d
1457/8	£14 . 18s . 6d	-	6s . 1d ³	£14 . 12s . 5d
1461/2	£21 . 11s . 6d	-	£2-£4 . 0s . 0d ⁴	£19-£17 . 11s . 6d
1462/3	£21 . 10s . 5d	£1 . 0s . 0d ¹	£7 . 8s . 9d ³	£13 . 1s . 8d
1464/5	£38 . 17s . 2d	-	£20 . 14s . 1d ³	£18 . 3s . 1d

Table VIII: contd.

Year	i) Initial Arrears	ii) Respites included	iii) Arrears sums allowed during the year	iv) <u>Effective arrears at</u> the end of the year
1466/7	£35 . 12s . 4d	-	-	£35 . 12s . 4d
1469/70	£72 . 1s . 7d	£3 . 11s . 7d ²	£3 . 16s . 1d ³	£64 . 13s . 11d

1. Building costs respited.
2. Respited building costs (£2 . 4s . 11d) and rents (£1 . 6s . 8d).
3. Allowed to preceding official to cover his costs.
4. Doubly-charged rents allowed to a previous bailiff. Accountant's clothing and secretarial costs allowed for past years.

For the years 1461-3, there is sufficient information for us to follow the allowance of a bailiff's expenditure in some detail. Thomas Spenser, the 1461-2 bailiff, had a total charge of nearly £77 on his account, of which over £55 was discharged during the year. Much of this discharge consisted of relatively standard items - allowances for repaid rents and the payment of fees and wages—but a proportion of the bailiff's purchases for the lord was also met. This latter item was worth about £32. Of the £21.10s. owed at the end of the year, only about £9 was Spenser's personal liability. As the table shows, over £7 of this sum was allowed during the subsequent year and £1 respited, leaving Spenser owing nothing from 1461-2.¹ The accounting period at Wyesham-Monmouth was thus effectively a two-yearly one, for generally this was the minimum period required for the discharge of the bulk of a year's charge. The irregularity of the proportions of the expenditure involved in the allowance process (which the third column of the table brings out well) obviously makes/use of arrears information from a single year very hazardous.

It has seemed worth-while labouring the importance of these short-term, working arrears, and the normality of a two-yearly discharge period because what is so well-illustrated in the case of Wyesham-Monmouth was probably typical of many, perhaps most, other estates. Peculiar factors of location probably made Wyesham-Monmouth particularly prone to this lagging of allowance behind expenditure, but, to a lesser extent, this must have been a fairly common phenomenon.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1581 and 1583.

2, For the Wyesham-Monmouth bailiff's function as a supplier of nearby Raglan, see, Chapter III, pp. 193 ff.

A knowledge of the process also reveals the great danger which lies in equating arrears and debts. Just as at Crickhowell the long-term arrears, which probably included some 'desperate debts', lie obscured beneath accumulated respites, so in the Wyesham-Monmouth case often-sizeable sums of working arrears confuse the longer-term position.

The end-totals on the table, which show the initial arrears less the allowances made during the year in respect of recent expenditure, thus give a more realistic picture of the arrears position in the sense in which it is usually thought of. These effective arrears were on the increase during the period; but not at any rate until the year 1466-7. How serious - if at all - was this accumulation of arrears in the late 1460's?

The information in the feet of the accounts suggests that the higher arrears of the 1460's were the consequence of a change in the policy relating to the allowance of expenditure.

Table IX: Wyesham-Monmouth - The progress of arrears (1453-1463)

	1453/4	1454/5	1455/6 or 1456/7	1457/8	1461/2	1462/3
		[Ann. charge = £55]			[Ann. charge = £55]	
Farmers of demesne lands	£7 . 6s . 8d					→ £7 . 7s.
Bailiff	£22	→ £4 . 12s.			→ £2 . 12s.	→ £2 . 12s.
		Bailiff £14				→ £12 . 12s.
			Paid or allowed			
			Bailiff £2 . 13s.			→ £2 . 13s.
				Bailiff £2 . 6s.	Paid or allowed	
					Bailiff £8 . 18s.	→ Allowed / respited
						Bailiff £7 . 11s

Table X: Wyesham-Monmouth - The progress of arrears (1464-1470)

	1464/5	1466/7	1468/9	1469/70
		[Ann. charge = £67]		
£12 . 12s. (First three items from Table IX)				£12 . 12s.
	Bailiff £29 . 1s.	? → £29 . 6s. ¹		£29 . 6s. (+ £2 . 5s. respited from 1466/7)
			Bailiff ? ²	£1 . 2s. (+ £2 . 13s . 4d respited from 1468/70)
				Bailiff £2 . 1s.

1. John Cokke was bailiff in 1462/3, 1463/4, 1464/5 and 1466/7, and was possibly in office in 1465/6 as well. It is likely that the 1464/5 arrears had been at least partially cleared by 1466/7, for the arrears sum of that year was in respect of the charges of the current and preceding year(s).
2. No account exists for this year, so the sum owed by the accountant of this year cannot be supplied. However, since the accountant was allowed £3 . 16s. in 1469/70, we can estimate that his arrears of 1468/9 were worth at least £4 . 18s.

The progress of the arrears until 1462-3 cannot be described as anything but good. There was probably one bad debt of £7 among the arrears; but most of the items seem to have been short-term arrears which were rapidly eroded by allowance. This was patently the case with the £14 owed by Thomas Spenser in respect of 1454-5 and the £2 which David Seys owed from 1457-8. The erosion was however sometimes a relatively long-term operation; as in the case of John ap Meuric's debt of £22, which was still being diminished by allowance eight years after it had been incurred. The final sums outstanding were nevertheless quite small in relation to the charges involved.

Table X reveals the cause of the higher arrears of the late 1460's. John Cokke, the bailiff of the mid-1460's, owed over £29 at the end of 1466-7. This sum, which was composed of current and arrears sums, was not thereafter altered by allowance in the normal way, but continued to appear at its full value until at least 1469-70. The reason for this departure from normal practice in Cokke's case is problematical. The change of procedure does not seem to have affected Cokke's successors as bailiff: the 1468-9 official, for example, received allowances against his arrears on the 1469-70 account. Neither does Cokke seem to have been regarded as especially untrustworthy by the administration. Twenty pounds had been allowed to John as the bailiff of the preceding year on his account for 1464-5.¹ His long term in office is indirect evidence of the favour he enjoyed in the eyes of the administration, while his account for 1462-3 reveals direct evidence

1. The sum had, it is true, been respited during the preceding year. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594.

of Herbert's faith in Cokke. A bill signed by Herbert gives explicit directions for the close examination of the sums spent on hay that year: if the higher officials were in any doubt in this respect, they were to take Cokke's oath on the matter 'for he is a true man to my lord'.¹

The evidence thus suggests that the new development had little to do with the personality of the official involved, although it was perhaps because the office was vested in one man for a number of years that a more dilatory approach to his claims could be adopted. There was probably at least one other factor which had the effect of slowing down the administrative processes of allowance and encouraging a policy of adjournment. This was the sheer pressure of work which must have borne on the higher levels of the Herbert administration in the 1460's, and which probably increased as the decade progressed. Not only were there extensive, private properties to be supervised, but the family and the more important administrators had also to cope with the government of many of the Crown's properties in Wales - Mortimer and Lancastrian lordships, escheated properties, and the Northern and Southern Principalities themselves. Small wonder that the rapidity of allowance visible in the 1450's exhibits signs of slowing down in the subsequent decade.

Yet it would be very wrong to view this evidence as indicative of inefficiency. The development - a description which undoubtedly errs in giving a few pieces of evidence the aura of a permanent, policy change -

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583.

is probably best seen as a holding device to protect the interests of an over-worked administration. That it was by no means a substitute for vigilance is revealed by the 1466-7 account.

In 1464-5 decays worth £8.1s. had been detailed in a bill and allowed on the bailiff's account, apparently without question.¹ On the other hand, in 1466-7 decays worth £8.12s. were listed, but items worth £4.13s.4d. were struck through, and at the foot of the bill 3s.8d. was allowed and £1.12s.4d. placed in respite. From the rubric on the account, it seems that Herbert was personally involved in the examination of this decay bill. There are other signs of what appears to have been a seigneurial descent on the estate's administration during 1466-7. The Steward's fee was thus slashed from 10s. to 4s., although it had returned to the accustomed level by 1469-70. The repair costs bill reveals two reductions to individual items and the total elimination of another; of the remaining £2.8s., £1.11s. was allowed and 12s.7d. respited.² Both of the 1466-7 respites moreover appear unaltered at the end of the 1469-70 account.³

John Cokke did receive certain allowances on his 1466-7 account: a bill of his lists items worth over £7; but it was considerably amended and less than £3 was actually allowed on the account. Of particular interest are the payments of tallage to the king. These were disallowed because of the payment - or liability for payment - by the tenants,

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1586

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588

but in 1464-5 an apparently similar item had been claimed and allowed in the bailiff's account.¹

Thus, so far as we can tell, the main cause of the rise in the arrears of the mid- and late-1460's was a departure from the normal procedures for allowing local expenditure. This departure was however accompanied by signs of a tightening-up, rather than any slackening, of administrative efficiency at Wyesham-Monmouth. The administration possibly adopted these more protracted procedures to safeguard its interest at a time when it may have been too busy to investigate all the claims for expenses as closely as it would have liked. It is noteworthy that Herbert's officials respited deductions from the judicial fine of Newport/Wentloog in respect of tenants who were not liable by the terms of their leases or were, in fact, tenants of other lordships. In the case of the Stow tenants and those of Ebboth the deductions had been allowed in 1447-8.² This longer-term approach to the allowance of expenditure was apparently combined with one of great rigour in the short-term: the object of both may have been to augment the cash derived from the estate at a time when that too must have been in relatively short supply. In short, the greater caution of the administration was probably closely related to the rapid expansion of its work during the 1460's.

The importance of respites distinguishes the accounts for 1477-8 and 1482-3 from those already dealt with. During 1477-8 nearly £23 was respited in respect of payments made by the bailiff, and about £25

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1586 and 1594.

2. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships, p. 231.

adjourned for decayed and allowed rents; these adjournments being necessitated by the lack of the Countess's signature on the relevant bills. Unfortunately, we cannot tell to what extent - if at all - arrears sums were involved.¹ In 1482-3, however, we can measure the inflation of the initial arrears by respited arrears: of £137, nearly £39 consisted of respited decays, while about £19 represented the rents of a number of properties which had been 'granted' to various people. The decay respites had been building up since 1479-80.²

This evidence of administrative slowness is corroborated by the information in the feet of these accounts, which indicates that a core of debt had built-up since the late 1460's. Of the £66.15s. owed at the end of 1477-8, Elizabeth Sergeant owed £31 for rents charged in preceding accounts: none of this sum had been paid by the end of 1482-3. This debt probably dates from the 1469-70 period, when Isabelle Sergeant re-entered the land which the first Earl had farmed from her: the dowager-Countess Anne had certainly resumed occupation by 1477. Three other arrears sums listed on the 1477-8 account and worth just over £29 had much the same history as Elizabeth's debt. In fact, only one of the arrears items was altered between 1478 and 1483, a sum of £10 disappearing from the list on the latter account.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510. The Sergeant family - if a petition into the Chancery in 1495 is to be believed - had suffered at the hands of their powerful and acquisitive neighbour, and they may have attempted some rectification of their situation in 1469. For the details of the petition, see the Appendix to Chapter I. P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings; Cl 225/48.

The position at the end of 1482-3 was even more complicated.¹ After the deduction of respites worth £68.12s., £93 was owed on the account: of this sum, about £60 was composed of the items just referred to. The additional items were all comparatively recent in date, ranging back at most over the three preceding years: individual tenants owing one or two years' rent were liable for about £14 of the £30, and officials for about £10. The remaining items were probably only in technically/arrears. Thus, William Sergeant owed 16s. for excessive chief rent received by him over four years; another entry of this kind related to the Prior of Monmouth. While we cannot rule out the possibility that the amount of chief rent was in dispute between the parties, the problem very likely resulted from some administrative slowness in making adjustments on the account. Clearly, these additional items are too recent in date to justify any particularly gloomy conclusions as to the efficiency of the Wyesham-Monmouth administration in the early 1480's.² Other evidence - for instance, the speed with which the Countess's warrants for payments were executed and allowed - moreover suggests that the estate was being run fairly efficiently.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.
2. The fact that the arrears were broken down in such detail is nevertheless of interest. Was the elaboration of this part of the account a reflection of a relative decline in the bailiff's office and the growing importance of at least some of the tenants as individuals, or is it indicative of the administration's concern about the situation?

The Wyesham-Monmouth arrears evidence thus reveals little conclusive proof of efficiency, or the reverse. During the 1450's and early 1460's however the evidence strongly suggests a considerable degree of administrative efficiency; thereafter the evidence is less clear, although it seems probable that for the rest of the first Earl's life_{time} the administration's control was tight, even rigorous. The higher arrears of the late 1460's probably reflect external circumstances and administrative stringency rather than any slackness: the respited rents on the 1469-70 account certainly suggest that the family's misfortunes may have been exploited by some of their neighbours and tenants.¹ The most conclusive evidence on the later accounts is moreover that which reveals the existence of bad debts dating from the critical years about 1470. Apart from these debts, some evidence of administrative slowness is to be found on these late accounts: we thus find at Wyesham-Monmouth a situation similar to that obtaining at Crickhowell during this period.

* * * * *

Before leaving the subject of arrears, it seems worthwhile to review the evidence relating to other of the Herbert properties, and particularly to examine the situation in the late 1470's and early 1480's where this is possible.

Generally, the arrears evidence from the 1460's indicates that the estates were being run with considerable efficiency. At Cilgerran, for example, in 1464-5 the local ministerial accounts carried initial arrears worth about £34, of which the arrears paid in during the year

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588.

accounted for £31.5s. Only on two of the accounts was total discharge not achieved within the two-year accounting period.¹ It was the practice at Newport/Wentloog to transfer the local ministers' arrears to the charge of the Receiver. That officer's account thus gives us a good idea of the general health of the lordship and the efficiency of its administration. At the end of 1465-6 the Receiver owed £528: of this sum, the current official owed £314 and a further £127 was only technically in arrears, having been charged in advance. Past officials and farmers only owed relatively small sums, and there was probably every hope of realizing these.²

There were, it is true, estates where the arrears constituted more of a problem than at Cilgerran/ and Newport. But in these cases there is usually some fairly obvious reason for the difficulty, apart from administrative inefficiency.

At Llandovery in 1465-6 the initial arrears on the ministers' accounts totalled nearly £173: cash liveries during the year cleared only £93 of this sum. There was thus a fairly large proportion of the initial arrears still unpaid at the end of the year. The breakdown of the sums owed at the end of 1465-6 reveals the kinds of revenue which were in arrears. About £78 was owed in respect of the pre-1465-6 period. The most important contributions to this total are found on those accounts which had judicial items among their charges: in all, partly discharged fines of the preceding year accounted for over £58. As in all of these cases a part of the fine had been discharged during the year, these sums were clearly not impossible - or perhaps

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

2. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004.

even difficult - to collect. A much less significant contribution to the £78 was made by unpaid farms. The arrears information thus suggests that the Llandovery discharge was rather slower than that of Cilgerran, but that this was a consequence of a heavy judicial charge and the related, protracted arrangements for payment. Unpaid farms, and those which were being slowly discharged, were perhaps a problem; although the evidence is really too thin to be conclusive on this score.¹

Difficulty was also experienced on the Lutterell estates in south-west England. Here again however there is little suggestion of administrative inefficiency as the cause. At the end of the 1465-6 account for Carhampton Berton £78 was owed. Of this sum, the current official owed nearly £68 as the arrears of the current and preceding years. That the sums owed by the bailiff involved preceding years indicates a slower rate of discharge than normal. Similarly, the Minehead bailiff owed the bulk of the arrears on his account in respect of the current and a past year.²

These apparently tardy, official discharges were in all probability related to the difficulties caused by Herbert's intrusion into the barony. The grant of Dunster was retrospective,³ which meant that the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.

2. In the Minehead case it is clear that 'the past year' was not the preceding one. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1557.

3. As early as May 1461 a commission was issued to Herbert to take the Lutterell properties into the king's hands. He received the properties by a royal grant of June 1463, which was confirmed to him and his heirs in March 1465. The grant had been retrospective to the start of the reign: the confirmation allowed Herbert to take the issues from the 30th December, 1460. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 30, 286 and 366.

revenues claimed on behalf of Herbert had often been paid to others, and the baron's administration clearly had a difficult task in attempting to realize these issues. This is most apparent in the case of the larger tenants and the dispossessed lady of Dunster, but it is also undoubtedly reflected in the relatively large, official debts. Elizabeth Lutterell appears as a debtor on the accounts of most of the barony's members. She owed, for example, over £2B on the East Quantoxhead account at the end of 1461-2; her debt constituting almost the whole of the sum owed on the account. The dispossessed lady had received the rents of June 1461 and 1462; the latter apparently with force. In addition, she had occupied demesne and other lands throughout 1461-2.¹ By the end of 1465-6, Elizabeth's debts accounted for nearly £59, as against total arrears of £70. Interestingly, she was reputed to have farmed the demesne from 1461 until Michaelmas 1465.² Whether this means that Elizabeth had come to agreement with Herbert, or had merely continued to resist ejection, we cannot say. There is however no indication that she had paid any of the sums before Michaelmas 1466, when our view of the barony is interrupted for more than a decade.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556. The rents due in June 1462 were 'collected with force and arms', ('vi et armis collect').
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
3. As well as the sum on the East Quantoxhead account, Elizabeth owed the following sums at the end of 1465-6:-

£7.15s. of total arrears of £13.5s. (Dunster town)	
£4.3s. of total arrears of £57.1s. (Carhampton Hundred)	
£3.13s. of total arrears of £78.1s. (Carhampton Berton)	
£5.3s. of total arrears of £17.5s. (Kilton)	
£2.16s. of total arrears of £3.12s. (Vexford)	
£4.1s. of total arrears of £18.4s. (Iveton)	
£1.11s. of total arrears of £5.12s. (Radlett)	—In this case it
	was the bailiff
	who was liable for
	the monies delivered
	to Elizabeth.
£1.8s. of total arrears of £5.7s. (Chilton Lutterell)	

The difficulties of the administration also involved reclaiming sums received by former, royal officials,¹ and coping with claims to ownership by tenants.²

In short, the arrears of the 1460's at Dunster seem to have been grounded in the confusion - and probably bad-feeling - caused by the dispossession of the Lutterell family; in the effects of the Crown's brief occupation of the barony, and, above all, in the fact that the grants to Herbert were retrospective. The administration seems to have made little headway in realizing the revenues of past years by 1466. However it had one success in 1465-6 - albeit of minor importance: initial arrears of 18s.4d. in respect of property at Exton farmed for 6s.8d. a year being realized. On the other hand, the current charges of the more important properties seem to have been fairly fully realized. For instance, of Mineheads £97 annual charge of 1465-6, about £62 was apparently raised within the period of account and a further £3 respited.³

1. On the Chilton Lutterell account for 1465-6, a former Escheator for Devonshire was charged with an arrears sum of over £2.6s. for monies received by him during 1461-2: the total arrears were only worth £5.7s. Similarly, at the end of 1465-6 the Blancombe property was burdened with arrears of over £8 which were the liability of two past Devonshire Escheators and represented monies received from the farmer of 1461-2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
2. Thus, at East Quantoxhead there was difficulty so far as the lands of Richard Cloutesham were concerned. In 1461-2 the rent of 6s. was allowed because of occupation by Elizabeth Lutterell 'and it was not possible to distrain this year'. The entry for 1465-6 suggests that the Lutterells had only farmed the lands: by this point, Richard had re-entered and was claiming ownership. The defect was disallowed however, so the claim may have been spurious. Ralph Percevale, who owed £2.12s. on the 1465-6 Carhampton Berton account for lands he had occupied for the three years prior to Michaelmas 1464, similarly claimed ownership of the lands in question. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

Thus, although there are instances of relative difficulty so far as the administration of the Herbert estates during the 1460's is concerned, these are usually explicable without recourse to suggestions of administrative inefficiency. Indeed, in the Dunster case there are grounds for thinking that the arrears measure, if anything, the administration's determination to exact the full, retrospective value from the barony.

The case in the 1470's is different. There is abundant evidence of the kind which was so difficult to interpret in the cases of Wyesham-Monmouth and Crickhowell, although this evidence is only available for the last years of the decade and the early 1480's.¹

The signs of a slackening of the management of the Herbert estates are quite general by the late 1470's. At Dingestow, Tal-y-fan and Pen-y-clawdde the position in 1463-4 was very satisfactory.² At the end of that year, practically all the initial arrears had been cleared at Dingestow and Pen-y-clawdde. Similarly, at Tal-y-fan nearly £17 of initial arrears of £22 had been paid off. The position had deteriorated by 1479-80; but not markedly. At the end of the year, nearly £12 was in arrears at Dingestow, of which just over a half was owed in respect of the pre-1479-80 period. However, the bulk of this £6 related to the charge of the preceding year.³ By the end of

1. There are accounts of the western estates during the year 1475-6, but their value in this respect is very problematical. An artificial arrears situation was created by the second Earl's entry into his estates during that year, the initial arrears disappearing from the accounts. Consequently, the utility of the arrears figures at the end of the accounts is severely restricted by the absence of information for other than the current year. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585. These properties were administered separately in the 1460's, but by 1479-80 only the Dingestow account remains: consolidation had clearly taken place, for ex - Tal-y-fan and Pen-y-clawdde items are to be found on the Dingestow account.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.

1481-2, the total owed on the account had not greatly increased since 1479-80. However, the breakdown of the sum reveals that few of the items of the 1479-80 breakdown had been diminished, with the exception of the sums owed by the official of years 19 and 20 (1478-9 and 1479-80): individual debtors thus owed 7s. in respect of 1477-8; £2.16s. from 1478-9; just under £1.15s. from 1479-80; £1.10s. from 1480-1, and nearly 15s. in respect of 1481-2. In addition, the bailiff of 1478-9 and 1479-80 still owed £1 and the current accountant £4.5s.¹ The ages and amounts involved are very far from catastrophic; the current charge, for instance, was then worth about £25. Yet the evidence does seem to suggest that there had been some slowing of the rate at which revenues were raised and discharged.

At Magor in 1482-3 the position seems to have been rather worse than at Dingestow. The annual charge on the bailiff's account was worth about £42: after the deduction of respites, the sum of £61 was owed at the end of the year. The breakdown reveals that this sum was largely the liability of a considerable number of tenants, whose rents had not been collected - or at least discharged - for some time. There are thus eleven items worth £25.17s relating to tenants' rents which had not been paid for four or more years. If we add in those debts which were probably bad - such as the £1 owed for meadow leased in 1470-1 - the total accounted for rises to over £35. The residue of the sum owed was probably collectable; or allowable, for some unallowed fees

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1590.

and grants appear among the arrears items.¹ The failure to allow sums paid out by past officials is probably significant: the unpaid rents might be not very convincingly explained away as decays unrecognized as yet on the account but for the evidences of administrative slowness so far as the official allowances were concerned.²

When all the evidence of this type is surveyed, it becomes almost impossible to insist upon particular causes and to resist the idea of some administrative weakness. Since the evidence is often suggestive rather than conclusive and depends for its full effect on the number of similar cases, the rest of this information is given in tabular form overleaf.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510. A past bailiff was thus charged with £1, which he had paid to two men by grant of the lady of Cressy, a predecessor of Herbert's at Magor. The same official also owed £2.13s.4d. as the value of the Steward's fee for four years. Monies had similarly been received by, but not allowed to, Morgan Rede, the husband of Margaret Lewis, Thomas Herbert's widow.
2. The decay argument would anyway tend to support the idea of administrative malaise. Decays would only clutter the arrears in these quantities if the rentals had been allowed to get considerably out-of-date, and if the procedure for amending this information on the account was not working, or was working sluggishly.

Table XI: The arrears position on some of the Herbert estates in the 1470's and early 1480's

Property	Date of account	Annual charge (£)	Sum owed at end of year (£)	Range:				
				1st preceding year (£)	2nd pr. year (£)	3rd pr. year (£)	4th pr. year (£)	5th pr. year & remaining years (£)
CHEPSTOW	1477/8	157	42	16 - 10 - 2 ¹	-	-	-	-
	1482/3	197	9	2 - 3 - 10	3 - 15 - 5	1 - 11 - 6	- 2 - 10	2 - 5 - 4
LEBENYTH-CAERLEON	1477/8	50	32	6 - 2 - 8	-	-	-	-
	1482/3	50	115	13 - 14 - 4	20 - 18 - 0	28 - 9 - 8	17 - 6 - 8	18 - 15 - 4
TRETOWER-STRADEWY	1482/3	53	88	6 - 0 - 0 ²	26 - 0 - 11	6 - 17 - 5	3 - 16 - 11	32 - 4 - 5
↑	1477/8	7	5	-	-	-	-	-
YAZOR (farmed)	1482/3	7	14	6 - 11 - 8	- 13 - 10	-	-	-

1. The range of this sum is not assignable.

2. The arrears from the current and preceding year were mostly transferred to the Receiver's account: the £6 represents the sum owed by a farmer who was outside the purview of the Receiver.

Table XI: contd.

Property	Date of account	Annual charge (£)	Sum owed at end of year (£)	Range:				
				1st preceding year (£)	2nd pr. year (£)	3rd pr. year (£)	4th pr. year (£)	5th pr. year & remaining years (£)
CALDICOT (Bailiff)	1482/3	45	48	4 - 14 - 9	5 - 9 - 11½	9 - 4 - 4	6 - 9 - 4¾	24 - 8 - 10³
PENRHOS/BETTWS	1479/80	28	28	6 - 6 - 2½	5 - 12 - 3	-	-	-
	1480/1	28	8	1 - 13 - 4	-	-	-	-
	1481/2	28	28	5 - 9 - 11	1 - 13 - 4	-	-	-
WONASTOW	1479/80	21	5	6 - 6 - 1½	-	-	-	-
	1480/1	22	9	2 - 10 - 0	6 - 11 - 9½	-	-	-
	1481/2	23	10	19 - 0	2 - 7 - 0	6 - 11 - 9½	-	-
TRELLECK	1479/80	18	18	4 - 5 - 4	3 - 12 - 4	-	-	-
	1480/1	18	27	14 - 4 - 6	1 - 1 - 8	3 - 12 - 4	-	-
	1481/2	18	49	14 - 9 - 6	14 - 4 - 6	1 - 1 - 8	3 - 12 - 4	-

3. Sums were owed from as far back as 1469.

Table XI: contd.

Property	Date of account	Annual charge (£)	Sum owed at end of year (£)	Range:				
				1st preceding year (£)	2nd pr. year (£)	3rd pr. year (£)	4th pr. year (£)	5th pr. year & remaining years (£)
MAINDIFFI	1479/80	20	13	6 - 19 - $8\frac{1}{2}$	- 5 - 6	-	-	-
	1480/1	27	33	5 - 19 - $3\frac{1}{2}$	13 - 13 - $0\frac{1}{2}$	- 5 - 6	-	-
	1481/2	19	41	20 - 4 - $3\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴	4 - 19 - $3\frac{1}{2}$	1 - 3 - 5 ⁴	- 5 - 6	-

4. Compound sum covering 1478/9 and 1480/1 included under latter year, viz. 1st preceding year.

It should however be pointed out at this stage that there were exceptions to the situation described above. On balance, the few accounts which we have for the barony of Dunster suggest that the position in 1478-9 was not unhealthy.¹ The single accounts for Wellington (1477-8)² and Kilpeck (1482-3)³ lead one to the same conclusion. (In the case of these Herefordshire properties the healthier situation was possibly the consequence of the presence of the Countess's agents and relations in the area: Sir John Devereux was feed as Steward at Wellington and Kilpeck, while the Devereux seat was at Weobley in the same county.)

Another estate which seems to have been run with some efficiency was Llantilio Crossenny. In 1468-9 nearly £3 was allowed on the discharge side of the account for the accountant's surplus of the preceding year: at the end of the year the official had once again exceeded his charge; this time by just over £5.⁴ This situation still obtained in the late 1470's and early 1480's. For example, on the 1482-3 account £10.10s. was allowed in respect of the surplus of the preceding year, while at the end of that year the bailiff exceeded his charge by over £7.⁵ Significantly, Llantilio was a home estate. This in large

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

part explains the recurring surpluses; the consequences of the accountant being frequently called upon to spend more than his charge was worth.¹ But Llantilio was also in a peculiarly favourable position so far as the allowance of official costs and deductions was concerned, and it was this, rather than the heavy expenditure, which resulted in the lordship's rapid discharge. (We have already noted that heavy expenditure did not automatically mean a speedy and complete discharge - and could in fact contribute to the build-up of arrears.) The Llantilio estate was favoured by the presence of the Countess and her staff, and as a consequence enjoyed a speedy system of allowance. Decayed rents and all the other deductions from the value of the charge which might have required investigation elsewhere could be verified and allowed within the period of account. Similarly, the accountant's expenditure on behalf of the Countess was rapidly dealt with. The result was that by the end of the accounting year the official's standing was known with some finality. Thus, Llantilio's status as a seigneurial residence helped to prevent the accumulation of arrears; first, because the issues were usually completely exhausted by assignment and direct expenditure, and secondly because the presence of central officials and the Countess - albeit of an intermittent nature - facilitated the allowance of sums to the accountant. We must also allow that the visits of the Countess and her officials may have encouraged the tenants to pay their rents promptly.

1. That is, the charge as it was after it had been reduced by the various allowances for repaid, decayed and allowed rents. For Llantilio's rôle as a home estate, see above Chapter III, p. 221,

The arrears evidence thus indicates that the Herbert estates were being run with considerable efficiency in the 1460's. The events of 1469-70 caused some deterioration in the situation, although how far this was due to internal confusion and how much to the attempts of tenants to exploit the family's plight cannot be said. It is also difficult to say whether there was an administrative revival during the rule of the dowager Countess and the second Earl. There are grounds for seeing the whole of the 1470's as a period of lessened efficiency so far as the administration of the estates was concerned; although the second Earl's entry in 1475 tends to obscure our view of the position before that date in some important cases.¹ The later 1470's and early 1480's seem to have been characterized by an administrative sluggishness which was especially marked on certain of the estates.²

Some of the particular pieces of evidence which suggest the efficient running of the estates and reveal the means by which this was achieved have been reviewed in passing. The most notable examples concern Wyesham-Monmouth, where the central administration seems to have been very meticulous in its scrutiny of the bills presented for its approval. As we have seen, Lord Herbert himself was involved in the checking of items in 1466-7.³ His interest was probably keen in other

1. See above, p. 271, n.1.

2. Neither was this sluggishness a purely internal problem. In April 1480 the council of the Duchy of Lancaster decided that the dowager Countess Anne's debts in Monmouth had reached an unacceptable level, and the Receiver of that lordship was ordered to distrain for unpaid rents totalling £40. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/19, fo.65a.

3. See above, p. 262.

years too, although, perhaps because of a difference of form, his involvement has left fewer traces on the records. The general silence concerning the lord's rôle in the administration of his estates is, in fact, first broken some years before 1466-7. A remarkable bill exists on the account for 1462-3; remarkable chiefly because it deals with an item which, although important in the Wyesham-Monmouth discharge, might, one would have thought, not have attracted the attention of a magnate already burdened with responsibilities of a less private kind. The bill, which is signed by Lord Herbert, reads:

'My lord will that the sum for hay be well examined and that Jankyn ap Ioruerth Waghan [Vaughan] be at this allowance of other parcels and if that ye stand in doubt that ye take of the bailly's oath for he is a true man to my lord.'¹

Herbert's own rigour was clearly matched by that of his officials. Another bill - this time on the 1469-70 account - allows us a rare glimpse of what it was like to be on the other side of the auditor's table. The bailiff claimed 4s. as the cost of a 'crathe' and manger provided for the small stable of a brewery which had been under repair. Rather hopefully, he added to his claim the words: 'and Jaket said when I come before the auditors that I should have but 3s. and he and I were according that I should have 4s.'; despite this official accord the bailiff got nothing. The item was scored through and annotated: 'because allowed in the account of year five, Edward IV'.² That a

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, bill 1.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bill 12.

bill amounting in total to under 13s. should have been scrutinised to this extent and a date five years previous assigned, apparently without difficulty, to the allowance of an even smaller sum, reveals very able administration. Even allowing for the precision and length of the official memory, the view of the Herbert administration which this bill conveys is impressive to say the least.

The accounts for Haverford also provide evidence of this type. There are two rolls of accounts for the lordship in the Badminton collection; one dated 1456-7 from the period when the lordship was in the hands of Queen Margaret, and the other from 1462-3, shortly after Lord Herbert had acquired the farm.¹ Thus, in the Haverford case we have the rare opportunity to compare the methods of Herbert and his central officers with those of his predecessor.

The policy of the Herbert administration differs most clearly from that of the preceding, royal administration where decays are concerned. The charges on most of the Haverford accounts were derived from rental information of considerable age, and decayed rent items were consequently of some importance. In the earlier year, for example, these items were responsible for a decrease of about £20 in the overall charge figure of £140. A two-tier system operated on most of the accounts in 1456-7, with a certain proportion of the decays being allowed and the balance respited. The respited items seem to have been the relatively new decays.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565 and 1566. In January 1462 the king's 'castle and lordship of Haverford West' was included among the estates placed under John Milewater as Receiver-General. However, a matter of days afterwards, Haverford was granted to Herbert for 20 years at an annual farm of 100 marks. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 91 and 119.

Thus, on the Roch and Pill account nearly £4.19s. was allowed for vacant holdings and 24s. respited for other decayed rents.¹ At Leweston the allowance was worth £1.2s. and the two respites £8.9s., while the Camrose figures were 13s. and £2.17s. respectively.²

The situation was considerably altered by 1462-3.³ First, respites for decay had been drastically cut. Of the accounts mentioned above, only that for Roch and Pill bore a current respite for decayed rents; it being worth just over a pound. Respites, in fact, had virtually vanished from the Haverford accounts by 1462-3.

The second change involved the values of the decays allowed. That for Roch was reduced to about £3.16s; the bulk of this sum being allowed as the level of decay obtaining in 1445-6, 'whereof the items are unknown'.⁴ The allowances for decay at Leweston totalled £4.14s; a considerable fall in the 1456-7 total allowed and respited. A sum of just over £3 had been listed for decayed properties in Leweston and elsewhere 'according to the old allocation as in the account ending at Michaelmas in the eighth year of Henry IV' (1407), but had been struck out and annotated 'nothing now allowed'. At Camrose too, the items allowed represent a slight fall as against the value of the decays in 1456-7. The first item detailed the value of the old decay allowances derived from an inspection of past accounts and by examination at the audit:

1. The respite seems to have been about five years old, judging from the value of the related arrears sum respited (viz. £6.12s.).
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.
4. As we shall see, the account ending at Michaelmas 1446 was referred to elsewhere on the roll as a source of comparative information.

here again however the items had been partly forgotten, and the issue was further confused by the fact that Camrose and Leweston had lately been 'under one collection', so that it was difficult to assign the items in decay with any certainty to one, or other, of the properties. However, certain items and values could be detailed as included within the sum claimed: these amounted to about £1.16s. of the £2.9s. asked for by the accountant. The auditor amended this allowance to £1.16s; presumably on the basis of only accepting as genuine those decays which could be detailed separately.

In all, about £4 had been trimmed from the 1456-7 decay total by, or in, 1462-3. However, the main interest of this evidence lies not in its effects in terms of money saved, but for what it reveals of the methods and approach of the Herbert administration to the task of estate management. It is especially interesting that a few years prior to a change of procedure at Wyesham-Monmouth in favour of some respiting of arrears, the administration set its face against the procedure at Haverford. The difference probably lay in the fact that the respites at Wyesham developed with the assent of the administration, and in a situation where there was little immediate risk of their getting out of control. At Haverford, on the other hand, one gets the impression that both allowances and respites were of several years standing, and that in some cases their constituent parts had been lost sight of. In this situation, the Herbert administration clearly worked to regularize the position, retaining the allowance which, although less flexible than the respite, was also more straightforward. Allowance was to be once and for all, or not at all: half-measures, which might encourage administrative

slackness and the indefinite postponement of dubious items, and which obscured the current, financial position of an estate, were firmly eschewed.

The approach of the Herbert officials to the newly-acquired lordship was in many ways a conservative one. An interesting note on the Camrose account reveals something of their thought. It details the rents levied on the account ending at Michaelmas 1446, making special mention of the farm of a mill partly owned by the lord of Haverford.¹ This marginal entry was almost certainly added as a guide for the auditors, and perhaps for Herbert himself. It indicates, as much else does on this account roll, the careful use made of past accounts in the attempt to ascertain the real value of the recently-acquired properties. There is another reference to the account of 1445-6, and it is fairly clear that the administration was using the information of that year as an index to the value of Haverford and its members. Nor was the close scrutiny of 1462-3 without results, as the Leweston official discovered to his cost: it was revealed at the audit that he had claimed 9s. too much for decayed rents and the sum was promptly re-charged.

The other cases which suggest that the administration was working well are less instructive than those on the Haverford accounts. They consist of scattered references of the type mentioned above in connexion with the Leweston official. It should however be emphasized that these examples are not restricted to the 1460's. At Llantilio Crossenny, for example, the 1477-8 official had chief rents worth over £14, which should

1. The charge had then amounted to about 17s. less than the 1456-7 and 1462-3 charges.

have been paid to the king, disallowed in the foot of his account because of their non-payment.¹ Concealed rents were similarly discovered and charged on the Crickhowell accounts of the late 1470's.²

* * * * *

Thus, the information which those parts of the account concerned with arrears can be made to divulge provides us with answers to some of the most important questions we ask of estate records: how much of the charge was actually raised; what was the rate of discharge; how much was left undischarged, and what success did the administration enjoy in realizing the issues not raised within the current period? Indirectly, the arrears information allows us to measure, in rough terms, the efficiency of the administration. Yet arrears information is not the easiest to interpret, for subsumed under this head are many varieties of indebtedness; some quite normal incidents of the system of accounting, others representative of bad or 'desperate' debts. As this survey has shown, the variety and permutation of the different kinds of debt depended to a large extent on the character of the estate, and consequently tended to vary as greatly as the estates did from one another.

From evidence of this sort however, it has been possible to deduce the strong possibility that the estates of William Herbert were efficiently run; although their fate after his execution is very much less clear. Some of the indications on the accounts as to the competence of the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.

higher officials in checking the malpractices of local ministers and exploiting to the full the properties committed to their care have also been reviewed. Two facts seem to emerge from these scattered evidences which perhaps deserve final emphasis.

The first is that the administrative success of the 1460's was, possibly to a large extent, the personal achievement of William Herbert. All the evidence suggests that the baron was an exceptionally able and obviously hard-working man.¹ His attention to small detail when his

1. In the Southern Principality, Herbert's efforts resulted in a measure of political, military and financial success. Dr. Griffiths found that 'in the first seven years of Edward's reign ... the chamberlain's local receipts were higher than they had ever been during the previous ten years or more'. William also succeeded in increasing the value of the fines paid by the counties for the redemption of the Great Sessions, although the improvement was not maintained. He moreover overcame resistance to the payment of a tallage of recognition, and probably made Edward IV's entry a greater financial success than that of his son in 1472-3. The accounts of the Southern Principality from the 1460's reinforce the notion that Herbert's successes were grounded in his close scrutiny of the properties and officials under his control. He was often in the area, especially at the important times when the Sessions were due to meet, and when he was not, his agents, notably Hugh Hunteley and Sir Richard Herbert, were.

Yet another example of Herbert's capacity in exploiting properties in his control has been noted by Dr. Pollard. Between May 1465 and May 1468 the lordship of Goodrich and Archenfield was made to yield over twice as much as Richard Croft was managing to produce for the Crown in 1481-2. Unfortunately, neither Croft's account nor the entries on the Herbert Receiver-General's accounts reveal the nature of the charge at Goodrich/Archenfield, and we thus have no means of explaining the discrepancy in the amounts raised. (It is however possible that the earlier receipts were inflated by a tallage of recognition.)

The close supervision of Newport/Wentloog from Raglan, and the use of members of the Herbert family (like Sir Richard Herbert and John ap Guillim) as commissioners and officials, undoubtedly contributed to the financial success of Herbert's farm of that lordship.

Herbert's rigour and determination to get his due are evident as early as 1449-50, when the Abbot of Tewkesbury claimed that William, as the Earl of Warwick's Steward, had arrested the granger at Llantwit in a dispute over his official expenses there.

R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1962, chapter X. Ministers' Accounts, S.C. 6 1224/5-6 and /9 (and) 1225/2-3 and /6.

A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1968. Ministers' Accounts, S.C. 6 1122/12. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536, Cardiff 1963, pp. 171-2, 179-80. Ministers' Accounts, S.C. 6 1305/9 (Tewkesbury Account).

mind must have been occupied by more important schemes is quite remarkable. Yet this evidence of capacity should not surprise us. He had, after all, been raised to administer the estates of others, and to administer them well enough to secure continued employment and advancement in the service of his royal and aristocratic employers. His official career before 1460 provides a commentary on his success as an administrator of estates, and there is no reason to suppose that he did not transfer his skills to his new position at the head of a baronial complex of lands.

The second point is a related one. So far as we can tell, the achievement of the Herbert administration in the 1460's was based upon an essentially conservative approach to the problems of estate management. The Haverford case demonstrates the high validity which precedent had for Herbert's officials, be it enshrined in a previous account or the memories of those examined at the audit. Similarly, Herbert's concern with the checking of small items of expenditure and decay may seem a rather limited activity for a man of ability concerned to exploit his estates to the full. There are several, probable reasons for this conservatism. First, Herbert's background may have confined his mind within rather narrow limits so far as estate management was concerned. The medieval system of estate management below the level of the council was, above all, concerned with the routine supervision of the staff and properties of the estate: if anyone was to be an innovator in this sphere, it was perhaps unlikely to be a former squire who had spent much of his working life in the administration of his neighbours' estates.¹ Herbert's capacity as an administrator perhaps

1. It is possible that Herbert's offices secured him an ex-officio place on the councils of his employers; but, on balance, it seems likely that his experience was of an administrative, rather than an executive, kind.

by less in his ability to devise new systems, than in the rigour of his approach to those already in existence. In addition to the mental constraints on the thought of the lord and his higher officials, there was the general inhibiting force of custom. While the main force of this constraint probably came from below - from the tenants whose lives and livelihoods might be affected by the seigniorial policies - we would probably be unjustified in thinking that it was not a convention which the lord also recognized. The government of estates like that of medieval realms depended to a good extent on the cooperation of those governed, and the resistance, or enmity, of the free tenants was not calculated to make the administration of an estate either easier or more profitable.¹ Thirdly, the time William Herbert had as the lord of his baronial properties was very short, and very much occupied with tasks other than the reorganisation of those estates. It is difficult to state what the position was after 1469, but it seems very unlikely that the minority of the second Earl would have been the time chosen for experimentation in the exploitation of the estates. Certain changes may have been initiated by the division of the estates between the second Earl and his mother in 1475, but what we know of the former's character does not lead one to expect him to have been very interested in the reformation of his estates. Finally, it ought to be said that the approach of Herbert and his lieutenants may have been less conservative than it appears from the documents which have

1. Relations between the lord and the tenants may have become difficult at Dunster in 1478-9. Over £1 was allowed on the Carhampton Berton account for the costs and expenses of the Steward, Sir Giles Daubeney, 'coming there in the time of disturbance among the tenants there for the safe-keeping and good governance' of the estate. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.

survived: a register of estate letters, for example, might have revealed a very different Lord Herbert in this respect. Nevertheless, any really radical policies would sooner or later have had an impact on our basic, estate records, so the impression of a conservative approach is probably a correct one.

Dr. Davies concluded from his study of the arrears evidence of some Duchy of Lancaster lordships in the early fifteenth century that the competence of a late-medieval administration should be assumed, unless there was clear evidence to the contrary.¹ While this is undoubtedly true, especially in the long term, there is a danger in these discussions of administrative competence of coming to view the administrative machinery of the late-medieval estate as more sophisticated than it in fact was. The reality was, especially in the short-term, rather more confused than would appear from the tone of much of the preceding discussion. We should not forget that our information comes from set points in the accounting year, when stock was being taken of the overall position, and that for much of the year this clarity of view would not have been available. The complexity of the situation was probably greatest where the discharge of an account was complicated by direct expenditure and where use was made of short-cut devices, like assignments. A bill of the Countess Anne's reveals what the state of knowledge could be like at the summit of an estate organization, and provides a salutary touch of reality on which to end this discussion. The warrant is found on the Wyesham-Monmouth account for 1469-70 and was addressed to two of the Countess's servants;

1. R.R. Davies, 'Baronial Accounts, Incomes, and Arrears,' Economic History Review, 1968, p. 229.

one of whom was the current Wyesham bailiff. The addressees were instructed to pay a small sum (£1.7s.8d.) to another official. One of the servants was directed to pay the sum from his farm 'if the farm draw so much to unpaid or else as much as is due upon you to pay'; John Taylor, the bailiff, was to pay the balance 'if the case so requireth'.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bill 7. The bill was written at Llantilio early in November 1470.

Chapter V: The organization and administration of the Herbert
estates

The conservatism of Herbert's approach to the management of his estates is apparent when one looks at their organization. In West Wales he inherited lordships with fully-developed and highly-centralized administrations. Perhaps for this reason, their organization was not essentially altered during the years in which the lordships were in the family's hands, and the properties passed to the Crown in 1479 in much the same organizational state as had obtained under Humphrey of Gloucester in the 1430's. This conservatism on Herbert's part must not however be over-stressed. The time for reorganization was probably not available to the baron and his hard-worked staff, and the organization and procedures of the County of Pembroke and the appendant lordships were almost certainly protected against radical change by their age. Moreover, changes were made in the organization of the western estates during the tenure of the Herbert family; changes which - but for the replacement of the second Earl - might have been the portents of a more radical alteration.

Pembroke County's organization in 1434-5, when Sir William ap Thomas was serving as Duke Humphrey's Treasurer, was quite simple: the farmers, reeves, bailiffs, rent-collectors and bedells accounted directly to the Treasurer, who was assisted by deputies. The ministers and tenants of the appendant lordships of Cilgerran and Llanstephan were however only indirectly subordinated to the Treasurer: their immediate superior and the recipient of their cash surpluses was a receiver. These two receivers were directly accountable to the Pembroke Treasurer.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563.

By the 1460's the appendant lordships seem to have been removed from the centralized organisation focused upon Pembroke and its Treasurer. Thus, at Cilgerran in 1464-5 the ministers relayed their cash receipts to the Receiver, but he no longer accounted to the Treasurer. Like the Treasurer himself, the Cilgerran Receiver paid his receipts directly to the Herbert Receiver-General. The case was similar at Llanstephan, although the lordship had been farmed by this date so it was the farmers - and not a receiver - who responded to the Receiver-General.¹ Most of the western estates were, in fact, organized in this way.²

This measure of de-centralization at the expense of the Pembroke Treasurer probably obtained for most of Herbert's lifetime. The accounts of the Receiver-General, James Prower, for the years 1465-68 reveal separate entries for the Pembroke Treasurer; the collector of the issues of the coal mines within the County; the Receivers of Castle Walwyn, Llandovery, Cilgerran and Haverford, and the farmers of Llanstephan.³

The development seems however to have been abandoned by the 1470's. The Treasurer's account for 1475-6 details receipts from the County, and the lordships of Carew, Cilgerran and Castle Walwyn. Llanstephan, however, remained within the jurisdiction of the Receiver-General.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

2. The lordship of Haverford, which was farmed from the Crown, retained its former, internal organization; the change of lord being registered by the diversion of the Receiver's surplus from the Exchequer to the Receiver-General. Llandovery's surpluses were paid to the centre, but not always to the Receiver-General. In 1465-6 the Receiver paid his surplus cash to 'the lord's receipt' and was given an indented receipt signed by Herbert. By 1466-7 however cash from this lordship was being received by the Receiver-General. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567, 1565, 1566, 1562, 1502 and 1503.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

Nevertheless, the reversion to a centralized structuring of the western estates may not have been as retrogressive a step as it first appears, for it seems to have been accompanied by some movement towards the practical incorporation of the appendant lordships within the County of Pembroke. This was achieved by the concentration of offices in the appendant lordships in the hands of the Pembroke Treasurer. Thus William Herbert, esquire, was simultaneously the Chancellor, Treasurer and Steward of Pembroke County; the Receiver and Steward of Carew and Castle Walwyn, and the Receiver of Cilgerran.¹ By this device, the necessity for a receiver in the lesser lordships was obviated, and the local officials consequently accounted directly to the Treasurer. To what extent incorporation was sought after by the Herbert administration is difficult to say. The primary motive in granting William his many offices may have been a personal one, although it inevitably had the effect of drawing the subsidiary lordships into the County's organization, of which he was the head. These functional links between the County and its satellites represented moreover a very weak type of reform - if reform were intended - for there was nothing apart from the person of the Treasurer which qualified the lordships' independence. On the other hand, this was an effective rationalization so long as the Treasurer retained his offices in the appendant lordships, and a kind of reform which was perhaps calculated to be acceptable to those who might fear, or resent, incorporation within the County.²

1. Most of Herbert's offices are mentioned in the fees section of his account. The exception - the Chancellorship - is known from an abstract of the Earl of Pembroke's patent of 1476 appointing his brother, William Herbert, senior, as Steward, Treasurer and Chancellor of Pembroke County for life. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 77.
2. Feeling of this kind could be strong. In the sixteenth century, George Owen expressed great indignation in his writings about the inclusion of County Pembroke lands in Carmarthenshire. Today, the prospect of the incorporation of Pembrokeshire with Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire in a new west Walian county has caused the expression of views which echo those of George Owen. H. Owen, Owen's Pembrokeshire, Cymmrodorion Record Ser. 1, London 1892, part 1, p. 5, n.3.

It is possible that the Crown retained this mild reform when it gained the County and its dependent properties in 1479. The 1480-1 roll of accounts for Pembroke County includes entries for Castle Walwyn, Cilgerran and Llanstephan. The ministers of these lordships seem moreover to have been directly accountable to Richard Myners, the Prince's Treasurer of Pembroke. Unfortunately, Myner's account for the same year does not indicate whether he was feed as the Receiver of each of the dependent lordships.¹

It would thus seem that the early movement towards a restriction of the Treasurer's powers of collection in favour of those of the Receiver-General gave way to a functional incorporation of the ancillary estates within the organization of County Pembroke, and that this development was inherited by the Prince of Wales from his Herbert predecessor in the late 1470's.

The family's estates in south-east Wales often lacked the heirarchic organisation of those in the west. A large number of properties in the area were in the hands of bailiffs or rent-collectors directly responsible to the Receiver-General at Raglan. This atomistic situation was qualified in practice by having one man administer a few neighbouring properties,² and in one or two cases estates were actually

1. Ministers' Accts., S.C.6, 1208/11 and 12.
2. Thus, Hoskyn ap Thomas answered to the Receiver-General as the bailiff of Dingestow, Tal-y-fan, and Pen-y-clawdde in 1465-6. Wonastow and Trelleck were similarly administered by one man in the late 1470's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1509, 1589 and 1590.

consolidated.¹

It is however significant that for evidence of intermediate centralization - that is, of the organization of a number of estates into a local receipt - we must look to those lordships which the family acquired as going concerns. Thus, Crickhowell's organization into a receipt subordinated to the lord's Household was inherited by Herbert from his Pauncefote predecessors, and does not seem to have been amended thereafter in any important respect.² The lordship of Chepstow, which was acquired from the Mowbray family, was also organized under a local receiver; as was the Talbot property of Goodrich and Archenfield and the Stafford lordship of Newport/Wentloog.³

1. By 1479-80 the Dingestow account was carrying Tal-y-fan and Pen-y-clawdde items and the accounts for these latter properties had been discontinued. (In this case it would seem that the granting of lands of the Tal-y-fan charge to a member of the family was the incident which caused the consolidation.) The Penrhos and Bettws accounts were consolidated in 1480. Similarly, the Badminton collection contains no Caerleon accounts beyond 1469, but there are accounts for 'Lebenyth- Caerleon' from the late 1470's and early 1480's, and, while there is little similarity between the scale of the accounts of the 1460's and those of the later period, we can identify items which are common to both sets of accounts. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585, 1509, 1587, 1589, 1508 and 1510.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2, 3 and 12. A comparison of these accounts reveals no change in the officials employed or in their relationship with the centre following the lordship's acquisition by Herbert. What had changed was the scale of the central administration's operations, and the levels of the Receiver's expenditure and the assignment of his revenues.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510 (Chepstow); 1501, 1502 and 1503 (Goodrich and Newport entries on the Receiver-General's accounts), and Newport (Mon.) Record Office, Ms. B/90/004 (Newport Account 1465-6)

So far as their organization was concerned the eastern estates were thus of two main kinds; some of them being organized into local receipts, while others were directly answerable to Raglan.

Although the evidence for the eastern estates is generally sketchy, it is necessary to attempt a history of their organization, for they were affected to a greater extent than the western estates by the allocation of dower to the Countess Anne; an event which may well have transformed the organization of the area's properties.

During William Herbert's lifetime there seem to have been few exceptions to the subordination - direct or indirect - of all the eastern estates to Raglan. For most properties this meant subordination to the Receiver-General. Three of this official's accounts, which cover the period 1465-8, reveal entries for most of the eastern estates for which we possess ministerial accounts; as well as for some properties whose accounts have subsequently disappeared. (One of the few properties which are noticeable by their absence is Raglan itself. The accounts of the Raglan Receiver from the 1450's and 1460's however indicate that this official was a direct subordinate of the higher Household officials.)¹

While the Receiver-General was thus the recipient of the bulk of the surplus cash of the estates - and it will be recalled that there were properties which rarely had such surpluses because of their heavy direct expenditure - the proximity of most of these estates to Raglan meant that they were often visited by central officials who, on occasion,

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502, 1503, 1578, 1582 and 1584. The Raglan Receiver spent heavily on behalf of the Household with the result that his liveries of cash were slight or non-existent.

collected monies from the accountant and even from the tenants themselves. For example, the Penrhos accountant of 1463-4 claimed allowance for over £7 paid to the Receiver-General, but just over £1 - the proceeds of the pannage - was collected by Adam ap Maurig, another central officer.¹

Perhaps the most important of the 'losses' the Receiver-General sustained were the sums diverted to members of the family. It is very likely that Herbert, in particular, possessed an itinerant financial organization.²

The Penrhos account of 1468-9 reveals just how complicated the transmission of cash could become: the Countess's Household Treasurer received drafts totalling well over £6; the Countess was paid nearly £3 - or supplied with goods to that value, and her Receiver-General acknowledged receipt of just over £14.³ But, although cash was received by more than one central official and by members of the Herbert family in the 1460's, the eastern estates were clearly financially answerable to the Receiver-General, who in fact usually received the bulk of their surplus cash.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.

2. The bulk of the cash issuing from Newport in 1465-6 was paid to the Receiver-General, but £21 reached Herbert by a possibly more direct route, being remitted to 'the lord's receipt'. Newport R.O. Ms./B/90/004.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587.

There is a considerable gap in the estate records between the late 1460's and the mid 1470's, by which time the eastern estates had been divided between the dowager Countess and the second Earl; presumably on the cessation of William's minority in 1475. What we know of the division has been deduced from the accounts, for there is no record of the allocation of Anne's dower.¹ Two account rolls in the Badminton collection seem to be almost wholly concerned with the dowager's estates. In 1477-8 the lordships of Chepstow, with Moynes Court; Lebenyth-Caerleon; Llantilio Crossenny; Wyesham-Monmouth; Wellington and Yazor were in the Countess's hands: accounts for the lordship of Carew in west Wales were also included on the roll, but there is little in these to suggest the identity of their lord. There had been some re-arrangement by 1482-3, when Anne was holding Chepstow, without Moynes Court; Caldicot with Newton; Magor, with Miles court and the regalian court; Kilpeck; Lebenyth -Caerleon; Llantilio Crossenny; Wyesham-Monmouth; Yazor and the lordship of Stradewy/Tretower.²

It would seem from these accounts that the Countess ran her estates with an improvised administration based upon her Household. The details of the running of Anne's estates are obscured by the absence on the accounts of references to liveries as such in favour of omnibus clauses comprising undifferentiated sums of cash delivered and payments made on behalf of the Countess and her Household. Thus, at Chepstow in 1482-3 the town accountant paid nearly £14⁶ to the lady as well as upon the expenses of her Household and other necessities for the lady's use bought this year³.

1. The Earl did however intimate in his will that the Countess was to receive the lordship of Chepstow and leave Raglan to my son, Dunster. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.

The Tidenham official paid £55 into the Countess's hands 'as well as to other persons', and the sums on the Bedell's account and that of the Berton bailiff are similarly important and vague.¹ From the earlier account however we learn that the Household Steward was answerable for at least some of this expenditure.² The 'Dom. Edward' who retained the bills detailing Household expenditure paid for by Chepstow officials; who appears on the Lebenyth-Caerleon account as the recipient of cash intended for the Countess, and who testified to the payment of a reward by the Lebenyth-Caerleon official of 1482-3 is moreover probably to be identified with Anne's Household Steward.³ It was clearly possible to run a few estates on this personal basis, with Household officials being used to supplement the itinerant Countess's personal efforts.⁴ The practice of assignment and direct expenditure in the localities undoubtedly facilitated the administration by making less necessary the transportation of cash to the dowager's current residence. Thus, by the late 1470's it would seem that certain of the family's estates situated in south-east Wales had been removed from the administrative organization whose summit was the Receiver-General's office in Raglan Castle, and were being run on a personal basis by the dowager Countess assisted by some of her Household staff.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.

4. The extent to which the Countess was aided by her son's staff is an imponderable. Certainly, servants of the Earl figure in the accounts of the dowager's estates. Thus, in 1477-8 a bill of agricultural costs allowed at Llantilio Crossenny was examined by Adam ap Meurig who had served as the Earl's Auditor in west Wales in 1475-6 and was by 1479-80 the Receiver of William's Welsh and Marcher estates. John Vaughan, the Earl's Receiver-General in 1475-6 and the Receiver and Improver of Herbert's Crickhowell lands in 1479-80, was similarly paid a sum by a Chepstow official in 1482-3. It is thus possible that, at the least, the Countess relied upon her son's staff for certain specialized help; for instance, so far as agricultural activity was concerned. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1569, 1509 and 1510.

Of the estates which remained to the Earl in the area we can say little, for the accounts which date from the late 1470's are not remarkable for the size of their cash liveries to the centre. It would seem nevertheless that the machinery for the collection of revenues established by the 1460's still existed and functioned. Adam ap Meurig, called indifferently 'the lord's Receiver' and the 'Receiver-General', acknowledged sums from Crickhowell, Penrhos, Dingestow, Raglan and Mathenny in 1479-80.¹ One of Adam's accounts as Receiver of the Earl of Huntingdon's Welsh and Marcher possessions, for 1481-2, exists in the Badminton collection: it contains entries relating to Raglan, Mathenny, Dingestow, Kilpeck, Troy, Trelleck, Wonastow, Penrhos, Maindiffi and Mawardine.²

The accounts of this period however suggest that the Receiver-General's office had declined from its high authority of the 1460's. There are grounds for believing that the importance of direct, local expenditure and assignment had been on the increase throughout the and 1470's 1460's: if this was so, it would have led inevitably to a decline in the significance of an officer whose main concern was the centralization of cash surpluses and expenditure.³ It is possibly significant that the entries on the Receiver's account just mentioned in respect of Kilpeck, the Raglan reeve, Troy, Trelleck, Wonastow, Penrhos, Maindiffi and Mawardine record the non-payment of liveries to Adam, and in the case of the last six properties the rubric makes it clear that this was because the revenues had been paid to, or spent on

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1591.

3. The growth of direct expenditure and assignment at Crickhowell, Pembroke and Wyesham-Monmouth is discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 197, 202-3, and 232.

behalf of the Earl.¹ Nor was Adam without rivals in the area. John Vaughan, the Earl's Receiver-General in 1475-6, was by 1479-80 receiving half of a fee of over £13 from the Crickhowell Receiver as the Receiver and Improver of the Earl's lands there.² The Crickhowell Receiver of 1480-81 shared the payment of John Herbert's £10 fee with the Maindiffi bailiff; Herbert had apparently been set over all the Earl's Welsh and Marcher properties in a supervisory capacity.³ A major reason for the declining authority of the Receiver-General was probably however the greatly decreased number of properties for which he could be responsible, and we can guess that the decline had its origin in the mid-1470's with the partition of the estates and was accelerated a few years later with the loss of most of the western properties. One even suspects that the Receiver-Generalship had ceased to exist by the 1480's and that of the two titles given to Adam ap Meurig that of Receiver is the more accurate. The estates of the second Earl may have disintegrated

1. The 1475-6 Pembroke Treasurer's account however suggests that, at that date, the cash liveries to the Receiver-General were still quite significant. Of liveries worth nearly £160, the Receiver-General was involved in the receipt or transmission of £70, while the Earl received about £30 personally in London and at Carmarthen. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1569.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509. It is perhaps indicative of Vaughan's superior status that he arrived at Raglan in 1481-2 to supervise the Castle, parks and demesne there, and that Meurig paid him a draft of £5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1591.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 2610.

into a number of local receipts, of which Raglan was only one of the more important. The disappearance of the Receiver-General's office - which in the 1460's had bound practically all the Herbert properties into a whole - would explain the appearance of high-ranking supervisory officials like Vaughan and Herbert.

The properties in Somerset and Devon acquired from the Lutterells were organized into a receipt. The Receiver was apparently not subordinated to the Receiver-General at Raglan. The 1461-2 official paid a total of £246 to Lord Herbert in four installments; the first payment dating from March 1461 and the last from February 1463.¹ In 1465-6 'the liveries' were divided; 100 marks being paid to John Milewater, the royal Receiver-General, in London in January 1466, and £53 to Adam ap Meurig, in June - possibly at Raglan. A final payment was also made in August, but no information is supplied as to the location of the payment or the identity of the receiving official.² He was not however the Receiver-General, because James Prower's accounts of the mid-1460's contain no references to the barony.³ When the Receiver's account for 1477-79 was drawn up, the barony of Dunster had been augmented by Duchy of Cornwall properties in Somerset. The liveries of cash seem to be included among the 'payments by warrant' on

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557. The payment made to Milewater was probably ^{in respect of} one of the farmed properties.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.

the Receivers's account, the most important item of which concerned a sum of £159 paid to the Earl and to his use. Another sum - of £26 - included £15 paid to the Steward of the Earl's Household.¹ It thus seems that the Dunster properties were never incorporated into the machinery for collecting revenues centred upon Raglan, but were, to a greater or lesser extent, subordinated to the lord and his Household.²

* * * * *

Up to this point our concern has been to establish the way in which the Herbert estates were grouped together and to discover the route by which cash was transferred from the collecting official to the lord, or his most important officers. But while this financial aspect was very important, the administration of the estates clearly involved much more than the raising and transmission of cash. For cash to be collected it had to be owed, and for it to be owed land had to be let: this, in turn, usually necessitated the holding of a court. Thus even the simplest of properties required a minimum number of services far in excess of rent collection. The best way to approach the multifarious activities which we lump together as 'administration' is to take a look at the officials at work on the Herbert estates.

The day-to-day administration of many Herbert properties in the mid-fifteenth century was the responsibility of a paid official called a bailiff, or rent-collector. This type of official was to be found on many of the family's estates in south-east Wales, as well as on the properties

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.

2. The incompleteness of the Receiver-General's collecting powers was a feature of at least one other complex of estates: '... on the Beauchamp estates ... there is evidence that not all the local receivers were under the control and supervision of the receiver-general'. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England', (in) Economic History Review, 2nd series, Vol. VI, 2 (1953), p. 191.

which made up the barony of Dunster.¹ In certain other areas however,

1. This is not, of course, to say that these properties were devoid of unpaid, servile officers. A number of the properties were, or had been, manorial in type, and at Raglan, for example, the bailiff's accounts of the mid-fifteenth century refer to the reeve who shared in the administration of the manor. The following properties were administered by bailiffs or rent-collectors. Unfortunately, the accounts do not always supply details of the stipends paid, and when they do the information sometimes suggests that the collector was, in fact, a servile tenant forced into service, rather than a free, professional servant. Thus, the Llantilio Crossenny collector of 1477-8 was allowed the rent of a cottage worth 2s. as his reward. While there may thus be some doubt as to the status of the lower-paid officials, there remain a considerable number of cases where the size of the stipend leaves little room for doubt. The stipend which occurs most often is £1.6s.8d., but this would seem to be higher than the average paid on the Herbert properties. (The years from which the information comes are given in square brackets.)

Wyesham-Monmouth £1.6s.8d [1466-7]	Usk parish-[1468-9]
Llantilio Crossenny 2s. reward [1477-8]	Llanwair Mybon Owen-[1468-9]
Penrhos 6s.8d. - £1 [1468-9]	Caerleon-[1468-9]
[1479-80]	
Maindiffi 10s.0d. [1468-9]	Lagharne-[1468-9]
6s.8d. + £1 reward [1479-80]	
Kilpeck £1 [1482-3]	Newton court issues (6s.8d) rents & farms (13s.4d) [1482-3]
Magor £1.6s.8d. [1482-3]	Caldicot £1.6s.8d [1482-3]
Magor-court collector 6s.8d [1482-3]	Caldicot-court collector 6s.8d [1482-3]
Aberystroth - [1463-4]	Lebenyith-Caerleon £2 [1477-8]
Goyttre and Llanover - [1468-9]	Wellington £1 (+6s.8d robe) [1477-8]
Bettws 6s.8d [1479-80]	Yazor - [1477-8]

1. (cont.)

CHEPSTOW

Town	2s	[1482-3]
Hundreds and courts	2s	[1482-3]
Tidenham	£2	[1477-8]
Berton	6s	[1482-3]
Moynes Court	£1	[1477-8]
Wonastow 10s (+£1 3s reward)		[1479-80]
Trelleck 10s (+10s reward)		[1479-80]
Dingestow	13s.4d	[1479-80]
Raglan-Mathenny	£2	[1479-80]
Raglan	16s.8d	[1479-80]
Mathenny	8s.4d	[1479-80]

DUNSTER

Town	£2	[1465-6]
Hundred/barony court	£2	[1465-6]
Carhampton Berton	£1 6s.8d-£2	[1465-6] [1478-9]
Minehead	£1 6s.8d	[1465-6]
E. Quantoxhead	12s.6d	[1465-6]
Kilton	10s	[1465-6]
Vexford	-	[1465-6]
Iveton	6s.8d.	[1465-6]
Radlet	-	[1465-6]
Chilton Lutterell	-	[1465-6]
Blanecombe	-	[1465-6]

N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508, 1510, 1509, 1557, 1585, 1586, and 1587.

the tenantry were still obliged to provide one of their number as the lordship's accountant, and might also be required to enter into an agreement to make good any financial losses suffered by the lord as a result of the official's negligence, misbehaviour or bad-luck.¹ These villein officials, who were usually called reeves, were compensated to some extent for the time lost to their own affairs by the allowance of their rents and by other concessions. Such a system was still operative on the western estates of the family and on certain of the

1. See, J.S. Drew, 'Manorial Accounts of St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester', (in) English Historical Review, 1947, p. 20.

lordships of south-east Wales.¹ The scale of reimbursement was not

1. The lordship of Castle Walwyn was staffed almost entirely by reeves in 1463-4: only at Fletherhull was the reeve joined by a bedell, whose function seems to have been to collect a few free rents in return for a stipend of 1s. In Pembroke County the reeves of Castlemartin, St. Florence, and Kingswood and Gawdon all received rent allowances for the performance of their offices. The Castlemartin reeve was assisted by two rent-collectors - one of whom received a 10s reward in 1475-6: the account however makes it clear that these officials were, or rather ought to have been, provided by the community and that the reward was exceptional. The reeve at Williamston in 1475-6 seems to have been reasonably well-remunerated: he received a stipend of nearly 6s. plus a small reward and his expenses in going to Pembroke for the audit. The Carew reeves were similarly well-paid. The officials in charge of the towns of the lordships in west Wales were also usually of this type. The lordship of Llandovery was largely staffed by bedells, one for Commote Hirfryn and each of the four sub-divisions of Commote Perfedd. The lordship was remarkable for the high proportion of Welsh freemen in the commotes, and, in some respects, these commotal officers were more akin to the rent-collector or bailiff than to the reeve. Yet the bedells received no payments for their offices, except at Llandeusan, where a wage of £1 was paid in 1465-6: this allowance was however made because the man elected to serve had refused, and was specifically stated to be exceptional. It would thus seem that the Llandovery Welsh communities had a duty to provide officials, who were normally unpaid. It seems that Crickhowell was largely staffed by servile officials. In the town the portreeve was remunerated by a small rent allowance, and he and the cachepole were allowed 2d for their attendance at each hundred and the fair. The latter also received the issues of two tollcesters valued at 1s.6d. as a fee. The Welsh reeve seems to have received no stipend, but was paid for attendance at the fair and the lordship's court at the rate of 2d for each occasion. The collector of the tollcesters and the English reeve may however have been free, for they received stipends, of 6s.8d. and 10s. respectively. Doubt about the status of the official even surrounds the office of Bedell. A custumal of 1559 states that the tenant ought to pay sergeantry and to occupy the offices of Bedell and the five foresters 'when he shall be elected paying for the farm of Bedell 13s.4d. yearly' and 5s. for the forestership. Both sums appear as receipts on the Bedell's account, but his own farm was regularly allowed: the farms of the foresters do not seem to have been similarly remitted. The Bedell was, in addition, allowed 2d for each fair and court attended, as were the five foresters. Newport/Wentloog resembled Crickhowell in this, as in many other respects. Rumney, Pencarn, Dowlais, Diffryn and Machen manors were staffed by villein reeves and bedells who received their rents and works for the performance of their offices. Stow, which had largely lost its manorial characteristics, was on the other hand run by an improver and a hired rent-collector. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567, 1569, 1562, 12, 1509, 2610 and 389. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004

however sufficient to offset the disadvantages of office so far as many of those who were liable were concerned - the fear of financial loss being perhaps as strong a disincentive as the inconvenience of office.¹ Not surprisingly therefore, the accounts reveal more than one case of a refusal to serve. John Hey's land was in the lord's hands at Castlemartin in 1475-6 because he had been elected to serve as the rent-collector in the east hundred, but had refused to serve. At Llanddeusant (Llandovery) in 1465-6 a bedell had to be waged because the elected official had similarly refused to take up his office.² Such refusals were punished - as were other failures to produce manorial incidents - by a fine. An alternative open to the tenants of some lordships was the payment of an additional rent which satisfied the obligation to serve as reeve. This commutation could either be negotiated by individuals, or secured for the community as a whole, in which case the lordship joined the ranks of those properties with a paid official.³

1. Before 1434-5 Henry Cadogan 'lately Bedell of East Pembroke' had been made a fugitive because of his official debts and lost his holding in Coytrath. William Lovelace, the tenant of several offices in Dunster in the 1460's, was allowed a fine in 1478-9 because of his infirmity and poverty. Both of these officials were free men, but there seems no reason to suppose that the possibility of financial loss was any less real to those who were obliged to hold office. Nor was financial loss the only drawback to office, as the Penrhos collector of 1479-80 found to his cost when the chief lord - of Abergavenny - clapped him in gaol until he paid certain rent arrears. At Newport/Wentloog local officials were committed to the Constable's custody until their official debts were settled. Newport R.O., Ms. B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563, 1556, 1557, 1558 and 1509.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 1562.
3. At Carhampton Berton (Dunster) commutation on an individual basis seems to have preceded widespread commutation, which probably extended to all the unfree tenants. The 'Assize Rents' item contains a number of rent-increases - ranging from 8d to 1s.4d. - for the release of the duty to serve as reeve for the life of the tenant. On the other hand, the 'New Rents' item includes an entry relating to the rents of 38 named tenants, who were charged 1s. each for a like relaxation. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

The local accountant - be he reeve, or bailiff/rent-collector - was above all concerned with the collection of the tenants' rents. On the smaller property he might also be required to realize the profits of the hundred court and, if he were in an urban situation, to collect the mercantile dues. At Haverford and Cilgerran, for example, the town officials shared in the task of raising the fair profits; the Cilgerran reeve renting a house for the collection of tolls and paying the men hired to maintain order in the fair, and the Haverford official remunerating the men stationed in the town's six gates for the collection of the tolls.¹

The local official was however more than a mere collector of rents and other issues; although it is usually very difficult to determine from the accounts just how involved he was in the many administrative tasks of the lordship. Even as a rent-collector, his scope was sometimes very limited. This was particularly the case in the larger lordships, where revenue collection and general administration tended to be very specialized; the greater size of these groupings of properties allowing a higher degree of functional specialization than was practicable - or necessary - on the small property. This division of labour is most in evidence where the more important judicial profits and the exploitation of the demesne are concerned, and we thus find our bailiffs and reeves being restricted to the collection of rents and the local judicial profits, while the bedell (or bedells) was responsible for the profits forthcoming from the more important sessions and the more prestigious of the free rents. There was sometimes further specialization in the collection of the judicial profits, with the hundredal issues being the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568 and 1566.

responsibility of a relatively minor official, the cachepole. Then certain properties might have been placed in the hands of a parker, who was often the official concerned with the exploitation of the demesne in general. When one adds the specialization which often obtained on the basis of the status, or nationality, of the tenants whose rents were being collected, the extent to which the individual accountant's task could be restricted becomes apparent.¹

Nor did this specialization stop short of the accountant's charge: even within his delimited zone of collection the official might have to account for - and possibly supervise the work of - other specialist collectors. Thus the Pembroke town bailiffs were allowed not only their own rents, but also that of a cachepole, for whom they presumably accounted: a similar situation existed at Tenby.² A subsidiary rent-collector received 1s. on the Carew account for 1475-6, where the charge was already the responsibility of three officials; two reeves and a bailiff.³ Similarly at Hirfryn (Llandovery) the bedell paid a small stipend to a sergeant, who collected one of the communal dues for which he was accountable. At Kilpeck in 1482-3 a stipend of 5s. was paid to a collector of the Welsh rents by the accountant.⁴ Although the specially-appointed collectors of the various 'gifts' and 'subsidies' granted to the lord usually accounted to the local receiver, or even directly to an official such as the Pembroke Treasurer, they occasionally responded

1. These divisions of function can be clearly seen in the accounts for Crickhowell. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 1509 and 2610.
2. The cachepole was a minor official, often provided by the tenantry. He performed duties associated with the local court, including the collection of its proceeds. He was often remunerated by the allowance of his rent - as at Pembroke and Tenby - but at Crickhowell he was waged at the rate of 2d per hundred. The Crickhowell official was also involved in the running of the fair, for which he received a further 2d. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 12.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562 and 1510.

through - and possibly worked under the direction of - the local official.¹

The task of collection was liable to diminution, as well as functional restriction. Properties, whose issues had once been collected, might be farmed. At Crickhowell, for instance, the mercantile dues owed to the lord were often leased, thereby decreasing the duties of the accountant responsible for their collection, the collector of the tollcesters and censuses.² Properties in which the central administration had a special interest were also liable to withdrawal: although the Castle Walwyn Bedell answered for the 1462-3 issues of certain lands in ward, the respective rental was by 1463-4 in the hands of the Receiver-General and the current issues had become the responsibility of ^a/specially-appointed receiver.³ The accountant was also likely to be by-passed by the larger tenants and farmers, who sometimes found it more convenient to pay their rents directly to the lord or one of his higher officials. Similarly, the local official might find that the terms on which a tenant held land had been re-negotiated without his knowledge. In 1454-5, for instance, the Wyesham accountant sought allowance in respect of an increase of rent which he could not collect because the tenant had come to an agreement with the lord.⁴ Neither was it unknown for the higher officials to collect monies directly from the tenants, as the Haverford Receiver did in Roch and Pill during 1462-3.⁵

1. For example, see the Llandovery account. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12 and 2610.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566. In the same way the Receiver-General ignored the Castle Walwyn Receiver to collect the issues of certain lands in ward from the Bedell in 1463-4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

If the local official's task as a collector tended to be limited in its scope, so was his involvement in the other tasks of local administration. The agricultural function of the local official had long before the mid-fifteenth century become the immediate responsibility of specialists like the reeve and messor (or hayward).¹ The general decline in seigneurial activity on the demesnes had however restricted the reeve's function and made those of the messor/hayward of little importance. The reeve's connexion with agriculture was often, in fact, restricted to the sale of the customary labour services of the tenants and the exploitation of other of the manorial incidents. Thus, the Castlemartin (Pembroke) reeve was expected to raise the value of 13 ploughing works, and his fellow official at St. Florence (Pembroke) was charged with the rents forthcoming from the manor's properties, which had been leased right down to the lord's oven.² In certain areas agricultural activity continued on a relatively small scale, and in these cases the messor - a servile official with special responsibility for the harvest³ - sometimes appears on the

1. For a conjectural account of the division of the function of administering a manor prior to Edward I's reign and an interesting account of the bailiff's legal position relative to his lord, see: T.F.T. Plucknett, The Medieval Bailiff, University of London, 1954. For a general view of manorial administration: H.S. Bennett, Life on the English Manor, 1150-1400, Cambridge, 1937, ch. VII.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. The bailiffs of the manorial properties of Dunster had similar obligations; the reeve's office having there been commuted out of existence. In some lordships the sale of the works had fallen into the bedell's hands, as at Castle Walwyn. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 and 1567.
3. During the period of high farming the messor/hayward had been of considerable importance. Dr. Drew writes: 'There is ... much to suggest that he was, in effect, the second-in-command, and the list of his duties as given in 'Seneschaucie' shows that they needed very little extension to make of him what we should now call a farm-foreman'. J.S. Drew, op.cit., pp. 22-3, n. 4.

accounts.¹ But, even where agriculture continued, it often seems to have been organized by itinerant or semi-permanent officials from the centre: the local official was certainly involved; but the extent of that involvement remains problematical. Certainly, his revenues were drawn upon to pay for the labour and supplies directed by the specialist officers and it is probable that his part did not end there.

The repair of existing properties and the construction of new ones was an important aspect of local administration, but, here again, the accountant's rôle is shadowy, and it often seems that the decision to repair, as well as much of the execution of the work, was taken out of his hands. If there were a castle in the lordship its upkeep was usually the responsibility of its constable, and other important properties - like mills and weirs - were often committed to his charge, or that of some other relatively important official. At Haverford the Constable directed repair work on the Castle in 1462-3, but much more important was his supervision of the re-construction of the town's mills at a cost of £135, which he received from the lordship's Receiver.² It was similarly the Steward who ordered the repairs to Minehead mill and the work done in Dunster Castle in 1464-5.³ No less an official than the Receiver-General appears as a party to an

1. At East Quantoxhead (Dunster), for example, the messor was paid a small reward in 1465-6. There were also messors on some of the Newport properties in the 1460's, although there is little evidence of agricultural activity in the accounts. Newport R.O., Ms. B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

agreement concerning the re-building of the manor house at Haroldeston (Castle Walwyn) in 1463-4, although the cost was borne by the Receiver, who was also very probably involved in the execution of the work.

It was similarly Prower, the Receiver-General, who assigned monies of the Receiver's charge to various of the lordship's tenants to help them repair their tenements, and he possibly had a hand in the repair work done to the mills during that year and paid for by the Receiver.¹

When a valuable property was under repair, the central administration might appoint a special supervisor to oversee operations, as it did in 1464-5, when a chaplain was made the supervisor of the Cilgerran weir works. He kept a counter-roll of the expenses of the operation, which seems to have been under the immediate direction of the local official, the improver of the fishery, but which probably involved the Receiver as well.² All in all, the local accountant's involvement in the more important building operations would not seem to have been very great, although the smaller tasks - the perennial throwing-up of hedges and fences, the enclosure of toll-collecting areas, and minor repairs - were probably more directly the local official's responsibility.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

3. For examples, see; N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 (bills of costs incurred by the official of Llantilio); 1562 (Llandovery town account); 1579, bill 4 (Wyesham-Monmouth bailiff's expenditure), and the Dunster accounts, 1556, 1557 and 1558.

Another important aspect of local administration was the judicial one, and it is difficult to envisage the local meetings of the courts without the accountant being present, if only as a source of detailed knowledge about the lordship and its tenants. In some cases moreover we have explicit references to the local official's attendance; as at Crickhowell where the Bedell was waged at the rate of 2d a court, and was also allowed the wages of five foresters, the Welsh reeve and his own servant at the same rate. Similarly, on the cachepole's account there are references to the attendance of that official and the portreeve at the hundred courts.¹ Nevertheless, despite the presence of local accountants - and especially those whose function was the collection of the judicial profits - at the meetings of the lordship's court (or courts), the sessions were usually presided over by the steward. Thus, the meetings of the Crickhowell courts mentioned on the Bedell's account necessitated the presence of the Stewards and their deputy in 1479-80.² Entries like that on the East Quantoxhead account for 1465-6 detailing the Steward's costs while holding the courts are very common.³ Nor did these frequent visits involve only the steward

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

or his deputy, and it is quite usual to find allowances for sums paid to the court clerk for his secretarial work and the cost of providing him with parchment and paper for the rolls and estreats.¹ It is probable that the court clerk was an itinerant official who travelled with the steward on his rounds, receiving fees for his services from the local officials.²

It was probably during these frequent visits of the steward that many of the policy decisions affecting the lordship were taken. The court was in one of its most important aspects an office of land registry, and the steward could not avoid becoming involved in the leasing of demesne and other properties.³ So far as this most important part of local administration

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. The Dunster court clerk received £2 as a stipend on the 1465-6 Minehead account, and the same sum on the Receiver's account of the preceding year as a reward for the execution of his office. The Minehead payment presumably represented his current fee; and seems to have been above the average paid on the Herbert estates. The clerk at Raglan was feed at 13s. 4d in 1452-3 and the Crickhowell clerk received the same, but the official at Walwyn's Castle was paid only 10s. In the 1430's the clerk of the hundreds and other courts at Tenby was feed at £1.6s.8d., and this was also the rate being allowed at Carew in the 1470's. The Haverford clerk received the high fee of £2 a year, and the Chepstow and Llandovery clerks less at £1.10s. and £1 respectively. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578, 1509, 1569, 1563, 1565, 1566, 1508 1562 and 1557.
3. Professor Hilton's investigation of the administration of the Warwickshire estates of the earldom of Warwick in the 15th century led him to the conclusion that the 'bailiffs would also be subject to the control, as far as general estate management was concerned, of the supervisor. His supervision may well have been partly delegated to the local stewards, since the courts over which they presided dealt not only with internal manorial discipline, but also with transfers of land'. R.H. Hilton, Ministers' Accounts of the Warwickshire Estates of the Duke of Clarence, 1479-80, Dugdale Soc. Publications, Vol. XXI, p. xxvii.

was concerned - that is, the exploitation and improvement of the lordships' assets - the local accountant's rôle was apparently as limited as in other respects. In addition to the steward's activities, he was also likely to be limited by the intervention of the local receiver, and that of possibly by/central officers. It was thus the Steward who testified to the value of escheated lands at Llandovery in 1465-6, while at Carhampton Berton (Dunster) the same official is found directing the use to be made of some parkland and (with the Receiver) controlling the agricultural operations of the area.¹ Explicit references to the receiver's capacity in these matters are rare, yet his importance cannot be gainsaid. The Receiver of Castle Walwyn was, for instance, cooperating with the Receiver-General in 1463-4 in the important business of renewing the lordship's extent; his involvement even extending to the writing of the document.² Rights in the islands off St. Ishmaels were leased to the tenants there by the Receiver and Constable-Improver of Haverford. The Receiver alone was concerned when certain premises were granted at low or nil rents in return for their repair by the tenants, while the Improver clearly had some control over the leasing of demesne properties. At Leweston in the same lordship no less a person than the Receiver-General was engaged in letting properties.³ In County Pembroke in the 1470's leasing seems to

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

have been controlled by the Treasurer, and - perhaps less frequently - by the Auditors.¹ The Pembroke account roll for 1475-6 also reveals another reference to what must have been a fairly common occurrence on the larger complexes of estates, namely direct intervention in the affairs of the locality by the central administration. At some point between 1413 and 1434 'Walter Shirington and other commissioners' of Humphrey of Gloucester had leased 812 acres of land at ^St. Florence - possibly part of the demesne - at a low rate because of the poverty of the tenants.²

The local official was thus often a much-supervised and interfered with man. Yet these limitations can be over-emphasized and, by this point, the importance of this official may be in danger of being disregarded. The balance is however fairly easily redressed by a brief look at one of the more important bailiffs of the south-eastern bloc of estates; the accountant of Wyesham-Monmouth.³ The regular duties of this official were four-fold: he collected the rents and issues of the lord's properties; supplied the Household at Raglan with goods; helped to maintain the buildings of the area, and played a part (albeit ill-defined) in the agricultural operations of the locality. Of these duties the most spectacular - but perhaps not the most significant - were those connected

1. The Auditors of the estates of St. Swithun's, Winchester did much more than check the accounts, and for the fourteenth century Dr. Drew found 'indications that the actual direction of the estates was in their hands'. J.S. Drew, op.cit., p. 24.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. Shirington was a clerk who made his career in the royal service: by 1430-1 he was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. I p. 389.
3. The rôle of this bailiff has been obliquely referred to already in connexion with the expenditure of the Wyesham-Monmouth revenues. See Chapter III.

with the Household. The commodities he supplied varied from year to year: thus, in 1462-3 he purchased many items of food for delivery to the Household Steward;¹ two years later he is found supplying items for the stable and the parks, as well as building materials,² and in 1469-70 delivering very large quantities of cloth to Raglan.³ While it is difficult to determine the degree of initiative the bailiff possessed in the execution of his duties - and he was certainly very much under the eyes of the lord and his officials - the sheer scale of his bills of expenditure prevents one from thinking of him, or his office, as unimportant.⁴

In addition to the duties just described, the bailiff had less-continuous (but still important) calls on his attention. He must thus have spent many hours of his official year in attendance at the sessions of the audit and view-of-account, and several tedious days in helping the higher officials to renew rentals and enquire into the various defects of the area.⁵ But, perhaps more than anything else, the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, bill 4.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594, bill c.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bills 4 and 16.
4. One item on the 1469-70 bailiff's bill of cloth supplied involved 150 yards of kendal, and at one point in his reckoning he was owed nearly £69 by the family. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bills 4 and 16.
5. In 1454-5 an impressive panel of high officials spent a total of 8 days and nights on the auditing of the accounts and supervision of the area: however the use of the plural accounts may indicate that other accounts were being heard that year at Monmouth. (Certainly, in the late 1470's the Wellington (Herefordshire) account was taken to that town for auditing.) Other entries relating to the auditing of the Wyesham-Monmouth account suggest that the proceedings usually took about 3 days. It is also clear from an entry on a bill attached to the 1454-5 account that a view-of-account was taken in Monmouth at Pentecost. Rentals were renewed with considerable frequency at Wyesham-Monmouth, perhaps as a consequence of the almost continuous process of acquisition. Thus, the main rental was renewed in 1449 and again a decade later, and subsidiary documents were revised in 1462-3 and 1466-7. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1508, 1593, 1583, 1581 and 1586.

extra-ordinary (or 'foreign') expenses incurred outside the confines of the lordship suggest the true importance of the official. Although the expeditions of Thomas Spenser, the 1461-2 official, are better-documented than those of his fellow-bailiffs, we know enough of the official journeyings of other Wyesham-Monmouth bailiffs to risk their lack of typicality. Spenser managed to fit at least three journeys into his busy year: one to Carmarthen at Lord Herbert's command; another to Archenfield, and a cloth-buying trip to Gloucester.¹

Thus, although he can be a shadowy figure on his own account, the bailiff or reeve played a rôle in the administration which was anything but shadowy, and which often touched all the activities of the late-medieval manor or lordship.

* * * * *

We must now return briefly to notice the functions and importance of those officials who worked as specialists alongside the bailiff or reeve in the more sophisticated lordships.

The bedell of a lordship usually collected the more prestigious of the free rents - for example, those of the military tenants - as well as the profits issuing from the most important court, or courts. As a judicial officer, he was usually important within, as well as outside, the court. He was also sometimes given responsibility for demesne properties and the exploitation of the saleable offices and works of the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, bill 7.

lordship. In Pembroke County the Bedells of Rhos, Dungleddy and Cemaes were wholly concerned with the collection of the profits of the County Court and the Court of Castle Gate. The Bedells of East and West Pembroke collected, in addition, the free and military rents and the issues of escheated lands.¹ At Haverford two Bedells collected the perquisites of the courts held within the town, while the much more important Itinerant Bailiff had responsibility for the issues of the 'foreign' courts and the fine paid for the redemption of the Great Sessions. The latter official also responded concerning the farms of certain demesne properties.² The Castle Walwyn Bedell answered for the sale of the tenants' works; the military rents; the usual judicial items; some poultry rents (possibly paid for agistment rights), and the proceeds of demesne and escheated properties. This official received a fee which was intended to cover the expenses of the Steward's comings and goings to hold the lordship's courts, and also bore the cost of providing a gallon of wine for each meeting of the court.³ The status of this office was considerably higher than that of the local accountant. In most cases, the bedell received a fee for his services: the Haverford Itinerant Bailiff was receiving £2 in 1462-3, and the Chepstow official was feed at the same rate in

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

the 1470's.¹

Haverford was perhaps the lordship where specialization was at its most elaborate. In addition to the Itinerant Bailiff and the two Haverford Bedells, a Butler was employed to take the prises on wine landed in the port and collect the salt custom, and an Escheator to receive and administer properties falling to the lord. The Butler was a relatively important official, and received a fee of £2 a year in the early 1460's for his work in Haverford, Pembroke and Tenby. It is perhaps indicative of his importance that the issues of the salt custom were respited to the Butler in 1462-3 until Herbert's coming, and that he paid his surplus cash directly to the Receiver-General and not via the lordship's Receiver.² A similar official called the Custumer was employed at Chepstow, although his duties extended to the collection of dues on internal, as well as external, trade. He was feed at £3.6s.8d.³ The Haverford Escheator's account for 1462-3 is quaint rather than informative: the official - who was simultaneously the Constable and Improver of the lordship - being responsible for the values of a forfeited horse and

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566 and 1508. The Bedells of Kilvey, the Welshry of Suprabosco and the Englishry of Gower received payments of 13s.4d, £2.6s. and £3.16s. in 1448-9. In one case however it is clear that the office had previously been financed by the fees of those who had dealings with the bedell. At Crickhowell the Bedell's office was - like those of the foresters - sold to the incumbant; or rather had been, because by the mid-fifteenth century the sale was no more than an accounting fiction, the Bedell being regularly allowed his farm of 13s.4d. In fact, it had not only become necessary to waive the farm, but also to pay a wage of 2d for each judicial session which the Bedell attended. This official also received livery worth 6s.8d. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts., D.L. 29/651/10531. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566 and 1564.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.

a deodand pan, into which a Haverford woman had been unfortunate enough to fall while cooking.¹

The specialist officials who had charge of the parks and forests of the lord appear as shadowy creatures on the accounts, yet these individuals often seem to have been of importance. Kevendryn Forest (Cilgerran) was in the hands of a forester in 1464-5. On the face of it, his office does not seem to have been very important: he was primarily responsible for raising the issues of the forest, which involved him in the sale of wood, honey and wax; the supervision of the pannage of pigs; the arrest and sale of strays, and the collection of rents for forest land and meadows. A glance at the Receiver's account however reveals the personal, if not official, importance of David Gwyneth, the forester, for he received his expenses for riding on Herbert's business to Carnarvon.² Who can doubt that Herbert chose his man carefully for such a mission? The administrations of the lordships of Cilgerran and Llanstephan were closely linked, and Gwyneth's activities also extended into the latter lordship in the mid-1460's: in 1465-6 the Receiver-General acknowledged a delivery of cash from Llanstephan at the hands of David Gwyneth.³ By 1475-6 we find Gwyneth serving as the reeve of Cilgerran town and improver of the fishery, for which latter office he was receiving a stipend of 40s. a year. He received some expenses as improver which reveal that he had journeyed many times from

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501.

Cilgerran to Pembroke; carrying monies to the Treasurer, going to the audit and warning other ministers of the Auditor's arrival, and for many other causes'.¹

The Crickhowell parker under the Pauncefotes was similarly an important local official. For much of the fifteenth century he was the officer responsible for the lordship's demesne properties; the forest profits (including poultry rents for rights of agistment); the park with its pastoral profits, and the farm of the lordship's mineral rights. The importance of this office seems to have risen markedly between 1430-1 and the 1440's.² For instance, whereas the earlier incumbant had been allowed costs worth about 12s., Ievan ap John, the official of the 1440's, was spending between £3 and £6 a year. He was feed at £1 a year for life and also received 13s.4d. as the deputy court clerk of the lordship, whereas in the 1430's the parker's office seems to have been worth only 6s.8d. to the Receiver who then held it.³ The allowance of the costs Ievan incurred while riding to Hasfield (Glos.) - the chief Pauncefote manor - with the lord's monies also indicates his significance among the local officials of the lordship. The Receiver's accounts furnish other suggestions of this kind. Secretarial costs connected with the court and previously borne by the Receiver had been transferred to the parker's account by 1445-6. From an allowance on the Receiver's account of 1447-8, it would also seem that the parker had paid the Steward's expenses; at least in the first instance.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

Although we can say nothing of David's career before Herbert took Cilgerran over, it is highly likely that he was a local official - or at least a resident - there in the 1450's, and, after the Herbert withdrawal, he continued to supervise the fishery at Cilgerran on behalf of the Prince of Wales. Ministers' Accounts; S.C. 6 1208/11 and 12.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 3, 6, 8 and 9.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 4.

It is probable that the rise in the significance of the parker's office merely reflected the good will of the lord towards the man holding the office. The life-grant to Ievan and the decline in the office's importance by the 1470's indicate that this was the case. By 1480-1 the parker's wage was given as 13s.4d., although he also received rewards for his work in connexion with the mills and the lord's hawks which added a further 12s. to this total. The level of the parker's expenditure had also however fallen back somewhat by this point.¹

The cases of the Crickhowell parker and the Cilgerran forester provide us with illustrations - and rather necessary ones - of the way in which the lord's personal likes could lift certain officials to a significance not apparently warranted by the value of their tasks. The nature of the forester's and parker's office may itself have encouraged the employment of men who were already in the lord's favour, as well as enabling unknown servants to advance to that status by personal contacts with their employer. While it might have been expedient to employ men who were merely efficient in the running of the estates, it seems unlikely that such individuals would have been tolerated where the lord's pleasure was concerned. As influence at Court was often gained, or registered, by the possession of a comparatively humble office about the king, and not necessarily by the tenure of one of the major offices of state, so we may be justified

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610.

in looking for a lord's friends and advisors among those rewarded for the care and transportation of his hawks, horses and dogs, as well as among those who received the largest fees and held sway over his estates.¹

* * * * *

A complex lordship organized as a local receipt had its administration co-ordinated by two officials of whom much has already been said in passing, namely the receiver and the steward.²

It is probably true to say of the receiver that his office was that of the bailiff of an important single property writ large, with the addition of considerable supervisory duties. This generalization seems to hold, even for such an eminent local receiver as the Pembroke Treasurer.

The receiver was responsible for the collection of the cash surpluses of the local ministers of his receipt. He might also be called upon to collect - or arrange the collection of - the extraordinary subsidies granted by the country to the lord. As must be obvious by this point, he closely supervised the work of lesser officials and was usually involved in the improvement of the lordship's assets.³ The receiver not infrequently served in a ministerial capacity himself, and while in many cases this was probably no more than a fulfillment of his duty to see that the area was adequately staffed, in others it may have been a conscious policy: plurality of office-holding might have been used

1. Thomas Sly, who appears as the parker and farmer of the agistment at Raglan in the late 1470's and early 1480's, had long been attached to the Herbert family, having accompanied the first Earl of Pembroke to Edgecote in 1469. As parker, he was clearly responsible for the keeping and transportation of the lord's dogs. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588 (bill 15); 1509 (Raglan); 1589 (Wonastow, Raglan and Raglan-Mathenny), and 1590 (Raglan).
2. The latter's co-ordinating function was also important where he was dealing with a number of discrete estates administered by bailiffs.
3. In addition to the £1 allowed to the Castle Walwyn Receiver in 1463-4 for the Receiver-General's and his costs incurred while renewing the the lordship's survey, a reward of 6s.8d. was paid for his labour and costs in arranging for the repairs to the mills and tenements. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

to introduce coherence into the administration of a theoretically complex and disparate lordship. Thus, we find the 1462-3 Haverford Receiver also serving as the rent-collector in Leweston, Camrose, and Mons and Ketyngeston.¹

As a rule the ministers of a lordship organized into a receipt did not enjoy very wide powers so far as expenditure was concerned, and the lordship's purchasing tended to be concentrated in the receiver's hands. Not all ^{of} this expenditure was internal - that is, concerned with the payment of the more important fees and wages, secretarial costs, annuities, agricultural and building costs - and the importance of orders from the centre directing the payment of suppliers and annuitants, or requesting that goods be purchased and supplied to the Household may have been growing so far as the Herbert properties of the mid-fifteenth century were concerned.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566. This simplification of a receipt's organization reached its ultimate point at Tretower/Stradewy in 1482-3, where Roger Bradston, the Receiver, held all the minor offices of the lordship with the exception of the farm of certain demesne lands. An intermediate stage of this process of simplification and consolidation is revealed in the details of the careers of past officials. Thus, Llewelyn ap David ap Hoell had served as the Welsh bedell, the portreeve and the English bedell in 1480-1. Although the process had not reached its ultimate point at nearby Crickhowell, the de facto organization of that lordship was much simpler than it looked in theory. In 1477-8, for example, the lordship's bedell was simultaneously serving as the portreeve, while the Welsh and English rents were clearly no longer collected by separate officers. We are perhaps justified in seeing a link between the growing simplification of the charge and this parallel administrative development. The administration was drawn together at other points by the same device. For example, Henry Gilmyn, the Receiver of Walwyn's Castle, was also serving as a deputy-Treasurer of Pembroke by the mid-1460's. The same phenomenon is apparent in the administration of other complexes of estates. In 1442-3, for instance, York's Receiver-General in Wales and the Marches, John Milewater, was also simultaneously the Receiver of Montgomery, Wigmore and County Hereford, Radnor and Mellennyth. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/818. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510, 12, 1509, 2610, 1567 and 1502.

It was however unusual for the receiver to spend all his receipts, and it was part of his function to transmit his excess cash to his superior receiving official. Lesser officials might be used to relay cash,¹ but the receiver was sometimes personally involved. The Dunster Receiver was, for instance, paid in 1465-6 for 'riding to London with the lord's monies'.² The task of relaying cash was however probably not that onerous in most cases. The growth of direct expenditure and assignment possibly lessened the amount of cash to be relayed.³ More important were the activities of visiting officials. In 1465-6, for example, one of the most important of these - the Receiver-General - was allowed expenses of £36 which he had incurred while riding about collecting the lord's monies.⁴

The steward must have been almost as busy as the receiver. He paid several visits to the lordship each year to preside over the courts: the Castle Walwyn Steward held eleven courts in 1463-4; fifteen sessions were held at Minehead in 1465-6, and six at Tidenham (Glos.) in 1477-8.⁵

1. As we have seen, both Ievan ap John and David Gwyneth were used in this way.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
3. Only 'possibly' though, because assignments had sometimes to be paid in London. Thus, in 1475-6 three London merchants were paid about £90 from the Pembroke Treasurer's receipts and a David Taylor was allowed £2 for his expenses in carrying the monies from Pembroke to London on three occasions. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567, 1557 and 1508.

The renewal of manorial records and enquiry into defects were quasi-judicial operations which often made use of the sworn testimony of some of the tenants. It is therefore no surprise to discover that the steward was often also present on these occasions. The Wyesham-Monmouth rental of 1449-50 had, for instance, been renewed by the examination of the tenants in the presence of a number of high officials, including Thomas Ornell, the Steward: Ornell was also present in March 1459 when the same document was brought up-to-date.¹ Then, the steward might have to add an extra-ordinary visit to his regular rounds, as was the case with Sir Giles Daubeney in 1477-8: about 25 shillings was allowed on the Carhampton Berton account of 1478-9 as paid to Daubeney for his costs in coming 'in the time of the trouble among the tenants there for the safe-custody and good-governance' of the estate.² When we recall that a steward was usually given responsibility for a number of properties,³ and that, in some cases, he had a rôle to play at the centre of the administration - a rôle of which we know very little - ⁴ the significance and burden of his office comes home to us.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1580 and 1594. The extent of Sir William Herbert's lands at Llaghame dated April 1459 was, for example, made 'by the examination of all the tenants there'. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/77/0001.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.
3. Thus, Sir Walter Herbert was the Steward at Caldicot, Magor, Raglan and Crickhowell in the early 1480's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510, 2610 and 1591.
4. Work on the de Vere estates in the fifteenth century suggests that the steward was ex officio a member of the lord's council. The late Susan Flower's unpublished paper on the de Vere council is deposited with other of her papers at Chelmsford Record Office.

It is very apparent from the accounts that the steward's work in the lordship extended far beyond the holding of courts and inspection of property. The accounts for Dunster reveal the multifarious activities of the official. On the 1465-6 account we see him holding courts in the various members of the barony; ordering the payment of a reward to the royal Escheator who had held an enquiry at Chilton Lutterell; directing the repair of Minehead mill and the making of ironwork for the Castle kitchen; assessing the value of grain and generally directing the agricultural activities of the area with the help of the Receiver, and testifying to the lack of tenants on a particular piece of land.¹

The steward and the receiver were obviously important officials, and this fact is reflected in the status of those who held the offices and in the remuneration they received. This is particularly true in the case of the steward. A glance at the names of some of the Herbert stewards is an easy way of establishing their quality. The office was clearly the preserve of members of the family and a few men of established connexion with the Herberts. Sir Walter Herbert, the second Earl's brother, appears as the Steward of Crickhowell in the late 1470's and early '80's.² At about the same period, he was the Steward of Raglan and some Herbert properties in southern Gwent,³ and had held the office in the lordship of Cilgerran in the mid 1470's.⁴ Sir Richard

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509 and 2610. By 1479-80 Sir Walter had been joined by Thomas ap Roger, esquire (alias Thomas Vaughan, esquire), a relation of his through his grand-mother, Gwladus Gam.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510 and 1591.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

Herbert of Colebrook, a brother of the first Earl's, was the Steward at Llandovery in 1465-6; Sir John Devereux served as Steward of the dowager-Countess's properties of Wellington and Kilpeck; John Herbert was in office at Dunster in the 1460's, and William Herbert, esquire - another of the second Earl's brothers - held the office in Pembroke County, Carew and Castle Walwyn in 1475-6.¹ Thomas Ornell, the Wyesham-Monmouth Steward during the 1450's and 1460's, had been connected with the Herbert family since 1441 at the latest.² The usual fee for a steward seems to have been £3.6s.8d a year, although Ornell was only receiving 10s. at Wyesham-Monmouth, while, at the other extreme, William Herbert's fee as Steward of Pembroke County was set at £13.6s.8d.³

The receiver's office was worth less to its tenant: the figures which recur on the accounts in this respect are £1.6s.8d and £1.13s.4d.⁴ Once again the Pembroke official's fee is the largest at over £13, although John Vaughan was receiving such a fee at Crickhowell in the late 1470's as the Earl's Receiver and Improver.⁵ The heavy responsibilities

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562, 1508, 1510, 1557 and 1569.

2. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 37.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1569.

4. For examples of this rate see: N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567 (Castle Walwyn); 1568 (Cilgerran), and 12 (Crickhowell). In the case of Carew the rubric gives the Steward's fee as £1.13s.4d and the Receiver's as £3.6s.8d, but this order seems unlikely [1569].

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569, 1509 and 2610.

of these two offices may well have justified the fees, but several other receivers were also feed at well above the usual rate. The Haverford official thus received £3.6s.8d. - possibly in recognition of his plural office-holding; the Newport Receiver the same plus an additional £3.6s.8d. as Constable; the Llandovery official £5, and the Chepstow Receiver £6.13s.4d.¹ The status of the receiver generally appears to have been somewhat lower than that of the steward: there were, for instance, no knights among the Herbert receivers.

The administration of the Herbert estates at the local level was thus in the hands of officials whose responsibilities and status varied considerably. Omnipresent was the local rent-collecting official and, on the small discrete property, the administration of the estate was his

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566, 1562, and 1508. Newport R.O. Ms. B/90/004. It is perhaps appropriate to add here that the remuneration of officials often involved more than the payment of a monetary fee or wage. H.S. Bennett writes that 'grazing privileges ... formed one of the most highly esteemed perquisites of the reeve's office': so far as the Herbert estates are concerned, references to the allotment of pasture to officials are not very common, and where they are found they often relate to herbage granted to the higher, or specialist, officials of the lordship. The commonest form of additional reward was however the grant of livery. H.S. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 176. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557 (Carhampton Berton account for the allotment of meadowland to the Receiver, Constable, parker and bailiff), and 1558 (same account, allowance to the Steward, Constable, Auditor, Receiver, parkers and bailiff).

responsibility, although he would be assisted and supervised by the steward and possibly by his superior receiving officer. In more complex lordships however the local official's duties were considerably qualified by the activities of various specialists, whose status was generally higher than his. But, in addition to the specialist officers who were established members of the local administration, there were others, whose function as local agents of the central administration is more apparent than the exact scope or nature of their duties. The activities of two of these officials deserve attention because they provide us with an approach to the central administration and speak volumes about the practical articulation of the estates. Not surprisingly, these men are found at work in the immediate vicinity of Raglan, their activities showing up on the Wyesham-Monmouth accounts. In an area of relatively simple administrative organization on which heavy demands were being made by nearby Raglan, there was clearly a need for itinerant professionals to augment the efforts of bailiff and steward.

Jankyn ap Ioſuerth Vachan was termed the 'lord's Improver' in 1462-3.¹ His activities, and those of his associate, David ap Hoell ap Gybon, penetrated every aspect of the administration at Wyesham-Monmouth. Both men were clearly deeply involved in the expenditure of Wyesham's revenues

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583. 'Improvers' are to be found in other lordships. In Newport/Wentloog such officials were clearly active in the exploitation and leasing of vacant properties during the first half of the fifteenth century. In 1465-6, in addition to the lordship's Improver, there was also an improver in charge of Stow. Newport R.O. Ms B/90/004.

and the provisioning of Raglan. Thus, on the 1457-8 account we find Jankyn ordering the payment of a Household supplier,¹ while in 1462-3 some of the items on the bailiff's bill of purchases were apparently delivered by him.² David ap Hoell Gybon was also prominent in this respect: during 1461-2 he and Jankyn delivered wax, linen cloth and mattresses, and in 1457-8 it was David alone who purchased eighteen yards of cloth for delivery to the lord.³

Apart from their obvious function so far as expenditure was concerned, the duties of Jankyn and his associate were very diverse. A few examples will serve to illustrate this fact and point the importance of these men. In 1453-4 we find Jankyn selling wood valued at £4 at Wyesham, and receiving about £10 of the bailiff's charge, some of which he appears to have collected directly from tenants.⁴ He was obviously involved during the following year in overseeing the harvests of the area with the aid of David ap Hoell, to whom food for the Penrhos harvest men was sent 'by the bidding of Jankyn ap Ioruerth'.⁵ In 1455 he accompanied the bailiff to Hereford to deliver an annuity

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1580.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583.
The commodities delivered by Jankyn were sackcloths, tiles, 'a mutton', and 'a plate of mussels to the lady by Jankyn ap Ioruerth Vachan'.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583 and 1580.

4. The bailiff of 1454-55 mentioned the wood sale, but disclaimed responsibility for the sum because Jankyn was directly answerable in this respect to the lord. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579.

charged against the Wyesham revenues,¹ while the year 1461-2 found him with the bailiff in Archenfield.² Jankyn was involved with local repair work in 1464-5 and 1469-70.³

Such a degree of involvement in the everyday affairs of the area, and the detailed knowledge which was the consequence of that involvement, made the attendance of Jankyn and David at the auditing sessions a necessity. Lord Herbert himself wrote ordering that Jankyn should be at the sessions of allowance in the Autumn of 1463,⁴ and the accounts reveal frequent references to items allowed by the testimony of these officers. In 1462-3, for example, the decay bill was 'shown, proved and examined, and by the testimony of Jankyn ap Ioruerth Vachan, the lord's Improver, allowed'. Bills relating to the purchase and harvesting of hay; the expenditure of the bailiff, and repair work were similarly allowed by his testimony.⁵ In 1457-8 it was David ap Hoell's oath which vindicated the bailiff's claim for an allowance of rent in respect of a pinfold occupied by the lord.⁶ It was moreover Jankyn who accompanied James Prower (possibly the Auditor at this date) when a view-of-account

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594 and 1588.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583. This bill - which is given in full in Chapter IV - implies that the sessions of allowance referred to were held in advance of the audit proper. Just as a certain amount of preparatory work was done before the audit - for example, the preparation and checking of bills, and the drafting of accounts - so the business might linger on after the auditor had left the area. Thus, on the account of the Newport Receiver for 1465-6 one reads of John Clarke, who was paid for his expenses at Newport 'waiting for three days for divers matters of the lord in September of last year after the audit'. Newport Record Office. Ms. B/90/004.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583.

6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1580.

was taken in Monmouth in the Summer of 1455.¹ In short, it is implicit in the reliance placed upon the testimony of these two men that they had a close knowledge of what was bought, repaired and decayed at Wyesham-Monmouth.

It is also clear from the accounts and other evidence that these officers were of more than local importance. David ap Hoell was clearly a favourite servant of the lord's. He occupied land in Keven Ithinok worth £1.13s.4d a year and this rent was fairly consistently allowed to him as a reward.² Moreover, in Herbert's will of July 1469 he bequeathed to David 'the land he has for term of life and £20 money to wait on Dunster.'³ As we have seen, Jankyn's agricultural activities extended beyond the confines of Wyesham-Monmouth, and during the 1460's we also find him testifying to the validity of claims for repairs and decays at Penrhos and Bettws.⁴ He was also active at Llantilio. The bill of expenditure on the 1463-4 Llantilio account - which included Penrhos items and was largely concerned with agricultural costs - was supported by Jankyn's oath.⁵ A few years earlier in 1459

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579.
2. The rent was apparently 'allowed' in 1453-4; paid in 1454-5, 1457-8, 1461-2 and 1462-3, and allowed as a 'reward' from 1464-5. By 1477-8 the allowance was being described as a 'pension': as such it was listed in 1482-3, but disallowed; perhaps because of David's death. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1580, 1581, 1583, 1594, 1586, 1588, 1508 and 1510.
3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8. That the Earl should have chosen David to serve his son is powerful testimony to his standing in the sight of his lord. David certainly remained in the area after Herbert's execution, for in 1479-80 he was leasing a croft in Troy.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1587.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585. He himself received a reward of 6s.8d from the Llantilio official during that year.

the rental of Herbert's lands at Llantilio had been renewed before Jankyn.¹

It is unfortunate that we do not know more about the functions of these omniscient officials, for what we do know suggests that they were all-important in co-ordinating the activities of different levels of the Herbert administration in south-east Wales. It is probable that they, or men like them, were at work elsewhere on the Herbert properties, and that it is only the relative fullness of the Wyesham evidence that makes their existence and function seem unique.

Of the central administration we know relatively little, for while the identities of those working at Raglan are sometimes revealed on the accounts their functions - and titles if they had any - are much less frequently mentioned. // The official about whom we know most is the Receiver-General. His main function, as we have already noted, was to tour the lord's estates collecting the revenues raised by the officials on the spot.² During these tours the Receiver-General did considerably more than collect cash: the local accounts reveal several instances

1. Ministers' Accts., S.C. 6 11/969. Jankyn himself held land there.
2. Some of this cash was, of course, brought to him at Raglan. The bulk of the cash received from Cilgerran during 1465-66 was indented for at Raglan in January 1466. The Crickhowell Receiver paid in cash at Raglan in June and at Chepstow in August 1465. (It is possible that the Receiver-General moved from Raglan to Chepstow in the Summer of 1465 - possibly as a consequence of the removal of the Household as a whole - for the Goodrich Receiver also indented for cash paid over at Chepstow in August 1465. The earlier payment of this official had been collected from Goodrich in July). Monies were also transmitted to the Receiver-General by third parties. For example, a payment of tallage from Llandovery was apparently relayed to Prower by Sir Roger Vaughan. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501.

of his interference in local affairs; interference which was often concerned with the improvement of the lordship's assets. In other words, the Receiver-General supervised and took policy decisions as he rode round Herbert's properties.¹

Most deliveries of cash on the Herbert estates were receipted by an indented bill,² the exceptions being those sums whose receipt was verified by the word of the receiving official 'per recognitionem receptoris'.³ The cash payments to the Receiver-General were no exception in this respect, and the indentures and their dates reveal that the collection of revenues was concentrated in certain periods of the year. The largest payments invariably fell in the Winter months, when the effect of the tenants' payments of Michaelmas began to make itself felt. It is probable that these concentrations of payments on the accounts corresponded to the timing of the Receiver-General's tours of the estates.⁴

In addition to the income from Herbert's estates, the Receiver-General also collected - or was paid - sums owed to the lord as fees. Many of the fees listed on the Receiver-General's accounts were payable

1. On the estates of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the offices of Receiver-General and Supervisor were sometimes held by the same man. Dr. Ross has described the supervisory functions of one of these Receiver-Supervisors. The official arranged for repair work to be undertaken; supervised the felling of timber and the enclosure of demesne land; carried out tours of inspection, and investigated a dispute concerning the lord's tenants. Whether officially, or merely practically, the Herbert Receiver-General also seems to have been of this type. C.D. Ross, The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, No. 12, pp. 7-9.
2. An indenture between Sir William Herbert and his collector of rents at Egloysyde remains on the 1456-7 Stradewy account. That Herbert collected the sum himself may suggest that the Receiver-Generalship was a development of the 1460's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2514.
3. In many cases these would be sums paid in during the auditing proceedings.
4. For the pattern of payment during the year, see Chapter III, pp. 192-3,

to Lord Herbert as an official: he thus received £6.13s.4d as the Steward of Ogmore and over £46 as the Sheriff of Glamorgan. Other fees were probably paid for the good-will of a powerful, local baron with important connexions: especially noticeable in this respect are the sums owed by the ecclesiastical corporations of south-east Wales and the fees paid by members of the aristocracy and gentry.¹ These payments were often relayed to the Receiver-General by the officers of Herbert properties near the place of payment. Thus, in 1466-7 John Spenser, the Llandough and West Orchard bailiff, transmitted the fees from Ogmore, Ewenny and Glamorgan.²

When the Receiver-General was mentioned earlier in connexion with the organization of the estates, he was treated as the summit of a revenue-collecting chain of officials. But there was one more link in that chain above the Receiver-General; that between him and his lord. Herbert seems to have had his own office of receipt; usually referred to vaguely as 'the lord's receipt' or 'the lord's coffers'. The bulk of the cash gathered by the Receiver-General was thus paid into 'the lord's coffers'; receipts signed by Herbert being given in return. Significantly, the largest payment in each of the three years for which we possess Receiver-

1. In 1465-6 fees were listed from the Bishop of Llandaff; the Archdeacon of that see; the Bishop of St. David's at Brecon; the Abbots of Margam, Keynesham, Neath, Tintern and Grace Dieu, and the Priors of Ewenny, Goldcliff, Llanthony next to Gloucester, Llanthony in Wales, Brecon, Abergavenny and Chepstow. So far as the payments from the aristocracy and gentry are concerned, Herbert would have received fees from properties belonging to the Duchesses of Suffolk and Somerset had he not himself held the lands at farm, and he was owed £20 by the dowager-Duchess of York from her estates in Herefordshire. A few small fees were paid by lesser individuals: £1.6s.8d by Sir John Seymour; £3 by John Bowlers, and £2 by John Basset. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502. In many cases the fees did not reach Prower—presumably because they had been paid to Herbert by some other channel—and in others parts of them had been assigned and spent en route. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1503.

General's accounts was made in January.¹

The residue of the Receiver-General's charge was discharged by the allowance of his fee (£10); his official expenses (which amounted to about £30), and the payments made on the lord's behalf and approved by his signature on the relevant bills. In 1465-6 these payments only amounted to £33, but they were worth £153 by the following year and £95 in 1467-8. Unfortunately, the accounts do not reveal a great deal about the nature of these payments, since the Receiver-General submitted the details in the form of bills which Herbert approved; all that was needed on the account itself was just enough detail to distinguish one bill from another. These scraps of evidence suggest that, to some extent, the Receiver-General financed the provisioning and incidental expenditure of the Household. In 1466-7, for instance, £4 was paid for the prise on four tuns of wine landed at Tenby; £5 was paid to Peter of Cardiff for the freight of the lord's wine; Roger Bromfield - a Household official - was given £4.10s to pay a glazier; Thomas Hugins, the purser of the lord's ship 'the Mary', was paid over £10, and £34 delivered to the Countess Anne.²

1. In 1465-6 of £2,354 paid over on four occasions, the January payment accounted for £1,600. The following year the figures were respectively £2,383 and £1,450, and in 1467-8 £2,267 and £1,467. It is possible that some of the 'liveries' included payments made by the Receiver-General: in May 1466 Prower discharged nearly £44 as 'delivered to the ... lord's coffers on the conclusion of this account', but the rubric continues and makes it apparent that the bulk of this sum had been paid for lands purchased in Herefordshire and that only £16 had actually been paid in cash. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502. A year later we find Thomas Hugins being paid £30; other sums were paid specifically for beef, mutton and wine, and the Countess received a draft of £20. Badminton M.R., 1503.

When we attempt to describe the duties of the Receiver-General's associates at the centre of the administration, we are thrown back on the evidence of the local accounts, and more particularly on the accounts for Wyesham-Monmouth. Deliveries of cloth to Raglan were regularly supplied by the Wyesham-Monmouth officials, but in 1469-70 the quantities involved rose markedly.¹ The information supplied on the accounts in this respect contains hints regarding the system and officials involved in the receipt and distribution of cloth. The most important official from this point of view seems to have been Adam ap Meurig. In addition to his other duties, he may have acted as a kind of quarter-master at Raglan: he certainly received cloth for the lord's livery in bulk - twenty-nine dozen yards being delivered in 1469, apparently as one consignment! From the same reference we learn that Adam kept the account books relating to this livery cloth.² Two other references support the view that Adam was very important in this respect. It was thus his oath which justified the payment of a supplier of black satin for the Countess's use, and he it was who remunerated the bailiff for at least a part of his expenditure on cloth.³ It is however probable that Adam was primarily a financial official, whose receipt of goods was nominal but who bore their cost from Household funds.⁴ The

1. The need for cloth was probably augmented by the Earl's funeral. The bills relating to this expenditure suggest however that more than one year's supply was being paid for.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bill 16.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588 and bill 16.
4. In June 1464 Adam had paid £2 to the Raglan Receiver from 'the lord's coffers'. It is difficult to say how specific the description of the source of the draft was meant to be: it may merely indicate some Household funds, or the monies in Herbert's hands may be intended. If the latter supposition is correct, Adam may have been an important Chamber-type official. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1584.

information of 1469-70 refers to another recipient of cloth in bulk as 'Thomas of the Wardrobe': he received thirteen yards of russet on one occasion, and six pieces of kendal (each containing twenty-five yards) on another.¹ The name of this official would certainly seem to imply the existence of a Wardrobe within the Household at Raglan. The nature of the cloth delivered to Thomas suggests that it was for distribution to the family's servants and retainers.

These bulk deliveries of cloth only constituted a part of the total expenditure in this respect. The cloth needed for the family's own use was apparently ordered in smaller quantities as it was required. In 1454-5 small items of rich cloth were delivered to a servant called 'Edward Chamerlen',² while in 1469-70 many similar deliveries were made for specific members of the Earl's family.³ Then there were the purchases of livery cloth by the bailiff for specific individuals by order of the lord or his central officials: the Wyesham bailiff of 1469-70 had, for instance, bought 1½ yards of russet for Thomas Hurde 'when my lord went to London ward', and John ap Jankyn ap Philipot, another local official, claimed in his bill of that year for the value of cloth 'for a gown to Sir William Whitecastle.'⁴ Cloth grants of a charitable kind seem to

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bills 4 and 16. Russet was a 'coarse, homespun, woolen cloth of a reddish-brown, grey or neutral colour' and kendal was a type of green woolen cloth. J.A. Murrey, New English Dictionary, Oxford, 1901, Vol. VIII, pt. I, p. 924.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, bill 1. We possess other references to the Chamber on the accounts. In 1479-80 Hugh of the chamber of the dowager Countess paid monies of the Wonastow charge to the Earl, and in 1482-3 he appears on the Kilpeck account as the recipient of cash intended for the Countess. On the Wyesham-Monmouth account for 1469-70 a 'Roger of Chambor' was paid 5s. on the authority of one of the Countess's letters of warranty. The office of Itinerant Bailiff at Haverford was given to Thomas Vaughan, or Thomas of the Chamber, in the early 1460's. It was perhaps the same man who - as 'Thomas Chabre' - was paid an annuity on the Raglan Receiver's account of 1481-2, as well as his expenses while at Raglan supervising the lord's stuff in the Castle. In 1475-6 a horse was delivered to a 'Saundir of the Chamber' by order of the Earl. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1510, 1588, 1566, 1591 and 1569.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bills 4 and 16.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588, bills 4 and 13.

have been handled in this way as well. Thus, the 1468-9 Maindiffi official claimed 10s. for his costs at Abergavenny buying cloth and having it made into clothes for the hermit of Raglan.¹

The picture then is far from clear, but it would seem that bulk deliveries of cloth were made to, and (presumably in smaller quantities) dispensed from, the Wardrobe, whereas the family's own purchases were handled by their more intimate servants. However, while liveries may have been provided from the Wardrobe stocks of cloth, many of Herbert's officials were clothed from local funds.

The Steward of the Household usually appears on the accounts as the Household's provisioning officer. The area drawn upon for foodstuffs was large and it must have required considerable organization to transport the victuals to Raglan. Thus, in 1475-6 David Gwyneth of Cilgerran was paid for fish purchased from him for the use of the Earl's Household;² in 1477-8 the Crickhowell parker delivered 51 hens received for agistment rights to the Household at Raglan, and the 1480-1 Receiver of that lordship was allowed the value of 45 sheep which he had sent to the clerk of the kitchen.³ On the other hand, the rubrics do not always reveal the place of delivery, and it is probable that, for instance, the deliveries of food from the western estates were made to a regional centre, such as Pembroke Castle, before or during a visit by the Earl and his entourage. Certainly, the drafts paid by local accountants to the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1587, bill 4.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12 and 2610.

Household Steward confirm that the Earl and his staff were far from permanently resident at Raglan. In 1475-6, for example, the Pembroke Treasurer paid this official £9 in London and £2.13s.4d. in west Wales.¹

During the 1460's the Household Steward's activities are revealed most clearly on the accounts of the Raglan Receiver, whom we have already noted as a close associate of the Household Steward.² The allowance clauses which relate to the Receiver's expenditure on behalf of the Household are very formalised; but we cannot afford to ignore them because they are the best indications that we possess as to the nature of the Steward's office. Financially, the most important item was that dealing with the victuals and other necessities bought for the lord's Household: these goods were delivered to the Steward, whose bills were the accountant's acquittance. In 1463-4 this item consumed £36 of the Receiver's £64 charge.³ Even so, the Steward was forced to call on other estates for supplementary provisions. The following year, he directed the Wyesham-Monmouth accountant to send fish to the Household, and in 1465-6 the Newport Receiver claimed allowance for victuals worth £8 which had been sent to Raglan, as could be verified by reference to the sixteen bills of the Steward and another Household official.⁴ The

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. This is also fairly obvious from the references to the movement of horses, dogs, hawks and domestic articles about the estates. In 1481-2, for example, the lord's horses were taken from Raglan to Weobley; during the preceding year one of the Raglan parkers had been paid for transporting dogs to Weobley. A Dennis Franconer was paid his expenses in 1480-1 on the Wonastow account while going to Weobley with the lord's hawks. In 1479-80 nearly 10s. was paid for the carriage of the 'lord's stuff' from Tintern to Raglan. The Raglan Receiver's account of 1480-1 reveals livestock being driven from Raglan 'towards Bray'. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1591, 1589 and 1509.
2. See above, p. 297.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1584.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594, bill c. Newport Record Office Ms/B/90/004. In addition, 115 pigs forthcoming from the pannage in Machen Forest were not charged on that account because they had also been driven to Raglan.

other item on the Receiver's account was concerned with 'foreign payments and necessary costs'. Under this head, the monies paid to the domestic servants for their services were allowed; although the nature of the item in general leads one to believe that agricultural staff were also included among those receiving wages. Monies spent on the repair of agricultural equipment and 'other necessities for the cultivation of the lord's land', and the costs of carting salt, wheat and other goods for the use of the Household were similarly allowed. In both cases the Steward checked and allowed the Receiver's claims, and we may be justified in supposing that, to some extent, the direction of the expenditure was also his.¹ Of his function as the victualler of Raglan there can thus be no doubt, and he probably also had control of the Household's domestic staff. The existence of local officials for Raglan and Mathenny, as well as a receiver, makes it less probable that his involvement in the agricultural activity of the area was other than very general.² The Steward does however seem to have had some responsibility for the Castle's fabric, for in 1466-7 the Receiver-General paid him a draft towards a glazier's bill, and in 1469-70 we find iron-work for the Castle being delivered into his hands.³

The Household at Raglan may thus have consisted of two financial departments; one subordinated to the Receiver-General and the other under the direction of the lord. There was also almost certainly a

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1582 and 1584.
2. Ievan Hire was described as the bailiff of Raglan and Mathenny in the early 1480's, but on the Maendiffi account of 1468-9 he was called 'the lord's messor of Raglan', and 'the bailiff of the lord's husbandry' on the 1481-2 Penrhos account. The area's agriculture was thus probably his responsibility; at least in the first instance. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1590 and 1587.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502 and 1588, bill 14.

Wardrobe, and all the usual domestic departments presided over by the Household's Steward.

The evidence concerning the final department of the Household we shall look at is confusing to say the least.

Although there are a number of references on the accounts to the lord's stables, there is no explicit mention of stables at Raglan before the 1480's. During the 1460's the stable in Monmouth Castle was clearly important, and may have served as the main base for Herbert's horses. Our most concrete information about this department of Herbert's Household - at least in its Monmouth aspect - relates to one of his servants, Jaket. From 1464-5 on he is mentioned on the Wyesham-Monmouth accounts as the head of a team of five men caring for the horses in Monmouth Castle and as the purchaser of hay and meadows for the feeding of the animals.¹ In 1469-70 however this reference disappears from the Wyesham account. On a bill of items bought on behalf of the first Earl - and loosely ascribed to 'year 8' - we read of some bridles delivered to a 'John a stabyll'; possibly one of Jaket's subordinates. The entry implies that an exodus of the defunct Herbert's stock from Monmouth Castle occurred after Banbury, for it speaks of three bridles delivered 'when the horse were brought from Monmouth anon after the field'.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594 and 1586.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588 and bill 15. The office of Constable of Monmouth was confirmed to Lord Herbert in tail male in 1466, but during his son's minority the Castle passed into the hands of Walter ap Thomas (probably a member of the Herbert family). R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. I, p. 649.

The situation in the early 1480's is not altogether clear. The accounts of the bailiffs of Raglan/Mathenny and Raglan for 1481-2 reveal allowances of the expenses of John Man and Richard Bishop, the keepers of the Earl's horses. From mid-November 1481 until early December these men were at work in John Butler's house at Raglan; from December until March their location is not specified; from March until July Man 'and John Vaughan's servants' were at work in Monmouth, and Man was at Butler's house again from August until the following November.¹ From this evidence it seems probable that the Earl's horses were being kept at Raglan and Monmouth alternately. Evidence from the Raglan Receiver's account for 1481-2 suggests that the horses were at Raglan for approximately six months of the year. Man and others were allowed oats for the feeding of the lord's horses from November 1481 until March of the following year, and from July until September 1482. While the first allowance was made to 'John Man and others keeping the lord's horses there ...', the second item only mentions 'the keeper of the lord's horses at Raglan'. Whether Man was, or was not, the keeper of the second entry, the implication is that he had spent the earlier period at Raglan.² A complication is found on the Wonastow accounts for 1479-80, 1480-1 and 1481-2, which contain allowances for hay-making costs and the expenses of the lord's servants at Troy 'for the keeping of the lord's horses'. This could be another establishment altogether, although the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1590. John Butler was described as 'the lord's servant' in 1461-2, in which year rents of properties in Raglan held by him were not charged. He similarly was the recipient of rent allowances during the late 1470's and early 1480's.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1591.

1481-2 entry does contain a reference to John Man.¹ The rather unsatisfactory conclusion to this look at what must have been one of the busiest departments of Herbert's Household is that the stabling of the first Earl's horses does not seem to have been done exclusively - perhaps even mainly - at his chief residence, and that by the late 1470's the horses would appear to have been lodged in a number of the family's residences near to, and including, Raglan, and were possibly moved from one to another as convenience and stocks of food dictated.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1590.

Chapter 6

The Administration of the Herbert Estates: The Personnel¹

Our review of the administration of the Herbert estates has so far been almost exclusively functional in its approach. Only in a few cases have we been forced to identify officials by name and to concentrate on the careers of individuals. Exceptions have had to be made to demonstrate the presence and significance of men who held nominally unimportant offices - or no offices at all. On the other hand, discussion of the obviously-important auditor and counsellors has been delayed because of the paucity of internal evidence relating to their functions; for all their significance, Herbert's auditors and counsellors mean more to us as names than as officials.

* * * * *

1. This brief review of the personnel of the Herbert administration will ignore for the most part those of Herbert's relatives who served him as estate officials; the careers of the most important of these men have been dealt with elsewhere.

At the highest levels of the administration of its properties in South Wales, the Crown frequently overlooked the constitutional boundaries of its lands and effected some practical integration by the use of common officials. This could be most easily and reasonably achieved in the case of intermittent officials, such as auditors.¹ A royal official and tenant himself, Herbert undoubtedly came to know these highly-professional, perambulating officers, and it is no surprise to find that he committed the auditing of his own estate accounts to one of them: by 1465-6 Lord Herbert had secured the services of Richard Lussher, a

1. Thus, Walter Gorfen, the Duchy of Lancaster Auditor in Wales from 1440, was twice appointed to audit the Southern Principality accounts during the 1450's. This tendency became more pronounced under the Yorkist kings. In September 1484, for example, William Mistelbroke, the Duchy Auditor, and Richard Lussher were appointed as auditors of the accounts of the Southern Principality; Pembroke County with Haverford and Walwyn's Castle, and the Neville and Stafford lordships of South Wales. Nor was such integration restricted to the auditing function: in the early 1480's Richard Myners served as the common receiver of the Southern Principality, Pembroke County and Haverford. R. Somerville, Duchy of Lancaster, London 1953, Vol. I, pp. 444-5. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government in the Southern Counties of the Principality of Wales, 1422-85', Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1962, pp. 632-4. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 474. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1225/8.

talented royal official in the early stages of his career.¹ The Dunster Receiver's account for that year contains references to Lussher's work in the barony; to the fee of £2 paid to Richard as the lord's Auditor, and to his costs in coming from his home in Surrey to audit the Dunster accounts.² He was still in the family's service at Dunster in 1478-9; and his brief clearly extended to the other Herbert properties, for he was feed as the Auditor on the Pembroke account of 1475-6 and was receiving £3 as the lord's Auditor in Wales from Raglan in the early 1480's.³

1. He is possibly to be identified with the clerk of this name who served at the Duchy of Lancaster sessions in south Wales in 1445 (R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 445). Lussher appears as an associate of Walter Gorfen, a prominent Duchy official, in 1455, when Duchy properties in Hampshire were committed to the latter (C.F.R. (1452-61), p. 134). From March 1472 he served as the Prince of Wales' Auditor in South Wales and became the Duchy of Lancaster Auditor in that area by a life grant of 1473 (R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 633-4; R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 445). By 1480-1 County Pembroke and its dependent lordships - lately in the hands of the second Herbert Earl of Pembroke - were also within Lussher's jurisdiction (Ministers' Accounts; S.C. 6.1208/12). In 1484 all the Crown lands in south Wales were committed to the oversight of Richard and a fellow-auditor (C.P.R.(1476-85), p. 474).
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.
When Richard died in 1504, writs of diem clausit extremum were sent to the counties of Surrey, Kent and Hampshire. C.F.R. (1485-09), no. 789.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558, 1569 and 1591.

Another of Herbert's higher officials seems to have been a professional, like Lussher, at the beginning of his career. Between 1461 and 1463 a John Gunter served as the Butler of Herbert's lordships of Haverford, Tenby and Pembroke: like many of those who worked for the baron, he had probably been acquired along with the lordships concerned.¹ He is perhaps to be identified with the John Gunter who becomes prominent in the administrations of South Walian and Marcher lordships from the 1470's.² Although a William Gunter was appointed as the first Earl of Pembroke's attorney to take seisin

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566 and 1564.
2. A John Gunter served the Stafford family as an auditor from 1473 and was a councillor of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, by 1504. (T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, Cardiff 1963, pp. 21, 243 and 290-1). In 1484 he was appointed as a royal auditor with responsibility for the Southern Principality and the Stafford and Neville properties in south Wales (C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 475). He and Lussher were made auditors of the Duchy properties in Wales and the Stafford lordships of Brecon and Newport in September 1485 (R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 445: C.P.R. (1485-94), p. 11). This active, royal official was probably identical with the John Gunter of Chilworth (Surrey) who died in 1511. The Chilworth and Racton (Sussex) Gunters also seem to have held property in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset (C.F.R. (1430-37), p. 313: C.F.R. (1471-85), no. 160). The details of more than one man's career have possibly been confused in this account, for there was also at least one family of Gunters established in south Wales at about this time. A John Gunter is thus reputed to have married a sister of Sir William ap Thomas; a John Lewis Gunter appears as an Usk tenant in 1486, and two Gunters - John and Hugh - were involved with William Herbert in the unlicensed custody of Pembroke Castle in 1478 (Herbertorum Prosapia, pp. 48-9: C.Cl.R. (1485-00), no. 129: P.R.O.. Privy Seal Office: Warrants for the Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2386).

of Talgarth in May 1468, no more is heard of John as a Herbert official after 1463.¹ However, he was serving as the Auditor of Prince Henry's lordship of Abergavenny - if he was the Butler of the 1460's - renewing his acquaintance with the Herbert family, which dominated the administration of that lordship in the late fifteenth century.²

Hugh Hunteley's connexion with Herbert similarly pre-dated - and perhaps accelerated - his rise to prominence as a royal official in south Wales. In 1447 he was appointed as the Receiver of a number of Duchy of Lancaster lordships in Gwent, including Monmouth and the Three Castles.³ William Herbert held lands of Monmouth, and, from soon after his appointment as Receiver there, Hunteley began to play a part in the administration of these lands.⁴ It is probable that he appeared at the Herbert auditing and rental-renewing sessions

1. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 45.
2. Westminster Abbey Muniments, 4087.
3. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 650. Hunteley held these offices until 1473, and resumed them again in 1477 until 1483. He was possibly settled in the Monmouth area, for a Thomas Hunteley acted as a mainpernor for one of the Monmouth Receivers of the 1420's; witnessed a Roggiett deed in 1436, and created an entail in 1456 in respect of Owenston manor, near Dingestow. Various branches of the family appear to have been settled in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset in the fifteenth century. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/18, Part II, fo. 125. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 341. Newport Record Office, Newport Deeds, 5059 and 5192. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 639. C.P.R. (1441-46), p. 323, C.F.R. (1452-61), pp. 246 and 247.
4. The tenurial connexion was possibly reinforced by other ties; William's uncle, Hoell ap Thomas, is said to have married a Hunteley as his first wife. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', Appendix.

as the king's representative; but appear he did and quite frequently during the 1450's and 1460's.¹ By 1469-70 Hugh was receiving a robe from the bailiff of the Herbert properties in the Monmouth area, while monies had been assigned to him by Sir William as early as 1457-8.² This rather obscure administrative connexion between Herbert and Hunteley was, no doubt, reinforced by the occasional leasing of the knight's property to the Monmouth Receiver, and by the participation of members of the Herbert family in Monmouth's administration.³

Hunteley was closely associated with Herbert in the years after the Yorkist coup. He was frequently commissioned with Lords Herbert and Ferrers during the 1460's, as well as playing a significant rôle as the former's deputy in the administration of the Southern Principality. He continued to serve in both these capacities under the second Earl of Pembroke.⁴ The connexion was predominantly

1. He was thus involved in the renewal of the Wyesham-Monmouth rentals of 1449 and 1459. As the 'king's receiver', he was present at the 1454-5 audit and was similarly involved in the Herbert administration in 1456-7 and 1457-8. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1583, 1579, 1580 and 1581.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588 and 1580.
3. In 1456, for instance, Thomas Herbert the younger served alongside Hunteley as a deputy of the Steward, Richard, Earl of Warwick. Newport Record Office, Newport Deeds, 5059 and 5192. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1510.
4. C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 30, 38, 65 and 99. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 54, 57, 58, 198, 289 and 317. Hunteley deputized for Lord Herbert as Chamberlain and Justiciar of South Wales. Dr. Griffiths has drawn attention to the important part Hugh played by journeying several times a year to Aberystwyth during the 1460's and 1470's to oversee the defences there and - more significantly - to improve the payment of the rents and dues of Cardiganshire. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 490, 625, 626, 629 and 675-6. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1224/5-9 (and) 1225/1-6.

an official one, and it was this aspect of the relationship which was particularly weakened by the developments of the 1470's: the advent of the Prince's council and the later removal of the second Earl of Pembroke from his Principality offices resulted in a divergence of the careers of the younger Herbert and Hugh Hunteley. For a brief period, the professional deputies of South Wales were granted the offices which they had been practically performing for some years; Hunteley serving as Justiciar, and deputy—Chamberlain under Richard Myners, from 1479 until 1483.¹ (By 1481 Hugh was so busy in West Wales that the Prior of Monmouth was established as his official deputy as Receiver of Monmouth.)² After the reversal of the attempt to run the Southern Principality on wholly professional lines in 1483, Hugh's interests in south-east Wales may have re-asserted themselves: he was certainly commissioned to act in the properties of the Earldom of March in 1486 and, in 1488, was directed to seize Sir James Tirell's lands in Glamorgan.³

Despite the weakening of the official links between the younger Herbert and Hunteley in the 1470's, the connexion was possibly maintained in its more familiar aspects. At some date before July 1469, Hugh had become a feoffee to the use of the first Earl and his heirs in respect of a London property, and he was apparently still in possession in July 1483, for the Earl of Huntingdon directed him in his will of that date to sell the property after his death on the advice of the executors.⁴

1. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 626, 630 and 637. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1225/7 (and) 1208/9 and 11.
2. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/19, fo.91.
3. C.P.R. (1485-94), pp. 86 and 216.
4. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post-Mortem; C 140/32, no. 21. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 74. This connexion does not appear however to have swayed Hunteley from the support he gave in the 1490's to a member of the Sergeant family in dispute with William Herbert of Troy concerning a property allegedly appropriated by Lord Herbert. P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings; C.1. 225/48.

The majority of Herbert's important administrators seem to have had careers of a more restricted nature than those of Lusser, Gunter and Hunteley, whose contacts with the Herbert administration were intermittent - perhaps even honorific in Gunter's case - and clearly allowed them to work in similar capacities for other great landholders. The more permanent members of the administration had less opportunity to serve others in the area, and this situation is reflected in the relative lack of references to them outside the limits of the Herbert estates.

After the Auditor, the most important official was perhaps the Receiver-General. In the 1460's this office was held by James Prower. He had been involved in the administration of Sir William Herbert's estates as early as 1452-3 as the Auditor at Raglan,¹ and appears repeatedly on the accounts for Wyesham-Monmouth during the 1450's in a similar capacity.² Whatever the degree of his involvement during that decade, he must have become a full-time Herbert official by the early 1460's. Certainly, by July 1462 he was the Receiver-General of the rapidly-expanding Herbert properties; an office which he seems to have retained until at least 1468.³ In addition to the collection of monies - a task which, in itself, took the Receiver-General on tours of the baron's scattered estates-he was also responsible for supervising and checking the activities of local officials. He necessarily accompanied

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593, 1579 and 1580.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564, 1501, 1502 and 1503.

the auditing party on its tours of the estates, and even had to descend on occasion to the task of examining rents.¹ Whether the burden of this arduous office determined Prower on retirement from the family's service,² or whether he was replaced by the dowager-Countess on the Earl's death, is a question which cannot be answered at present. He and his wife, Eleanor, were however still alive in the late 1470's and resident in the dowager's lordship of Chepstow.³

The career of John Vaughan, the second Earl of Pembroke's Receiver-General, is revealed to us in greater detail than that of his predecessor. John seems to have been the son of one of the first Earl's most trusted officials, David ap Hoell, for, when in 1500, he was referred to as a past feoffee of the Earl of Huntingdon, he was named as John Vaughan ap David ap Hoell.⁴ He is first noticed in the Herbert estate records as the

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1581.
2. By the mid-1460's he was also the Receiver of Swansea and Manorbier: not surprisingly, these offices had had to be entrusted to deputies. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502 and 1503.
3. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 81. It seems more than a little strange that an administrator of Prower's eminence should have played no apparent part in the legal settlements of the family. Of Thomas Caerleon, the Herbert Receiver-General by December 1468, we know very little. His name suggests that, like Prower, he came from Herbert's home area of Gwent, and may have come into contact with William during the latter's service in the Mortimer lordship's of Usk and Caerleon. He was perhaps the same Thomas Caerleon who served as the Improver of Newport in the late 1420's (or a close relative of his). He was certainly Herbert's Receiver at Swansea by 1465-6, and the Receiver-General of the widowed Countess in 1468-9 (and it is clear that his tenure of this office extended back into the lifetime of the first Earl of Pembroke). Newport Record Office, Ms.B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501 and 1587.
4. C.Cl.R. (1500-09), no. 522.

Supervisor attending the Dunster auditing session in respect of 1461-2.¹ Much of his career as a Herbert official was spent in west Wales, where, in the early 1470's, he occupied the lordship of Dinevor and acted as Constable there on the young Earl's behalf.² By 1475-6, Vaughan had acquired another office in West Wales - that of Constable of Pembroke Castle— as well as the Receiver-Generalship of the second Earl's lands.³ He was involved in the unlicensed retention of Pembroke Castle in 1478; but was pardoned for his offences in November of that year.⁴ John was not however exclusively concerned with the Earl's western Welsh properties, and, in March 1478, was created an attorney of Herbert and his Countess to receive Dunster estates on their behalf.⁵ He was also much involved in

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556.

2. West Wales Historical Records: II, p. 112. Ministers' Accounts; S.C. 6 1225/3 and 4.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. A distinction is drawn in this account between John Vaughan 'the messenger' and the Receiver-General; which suggests that the John Vaughan who carried letters from Carmarthen to Pembroke and London during the 1460's and early 1470's is not to be identified with the important Herbert official of those decades. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1225/1, 4 and 6.

4. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 128. P.R.O. Privy Seal Office: Warrants for the Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2384 and 2386.

5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 68.

the administration of Herbert properties in south-east Wales in the late 1470's. From 1479-80 he appears on the Crickhowell accounts as the Earl's 'Receiver and Improver' at the substantial fee of £13.6s.8d. a year.¹ Entries on other accounts make it clear that John's jurisdiction extended beyond Crickhowell to at least some of the other south-eastern properties of the Earl; where he collected cash, supervised the leasing and repairing of demesne properties, and attended the auditing sessions and testified to the validity of accountants' claims.² The contraction of Vaughan's territorial jurisdiction - a consequence of the loss of County Pembroke in 1479 - thus possibly led to a development of his work in the Raglan area and, in particular, to the growth of his Household duties; he is noted, in a number of cases as an official with responsibility for the victualling of the Household. He was moreover at Raglan in the company of William Herbert (of Troy) in 1481-2 supervising the Castle, parks and demesne lands.³ John is last mentioned alive in January 1485, when he was given power to act in the Earl of Huntingdon's name in the conveying of properties to William Herbert, esquire.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1510, 1590, 1591, 1589 and 2610. It is worth noting that Vaughan no longer received sums as 'Receiver-General', a title given at this time - perhaps inaccurately - to Adam ap Meurig. It is very probable that the Receiver-Generalship as it had existed in the 1460's did not survive into the 1480's.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1591.

4. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 798. The John Vaughan rewarded by Richard III in November 1483 with an annuity out of Abergavenny was probably John Vaughan of Dorstone (Herefordshire) and not the Herbert official. B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo.30.

It is thus probable that the Herbert Receiver-Generals were both local men with years of service in the family's administration to their credit, and, in one of the cases, there is moreover some evidence of a tradition of service to the Herbert family. Also in Vaughan's case, there is the suggestion of a personal connexion with the Earl and participation in the family's legal transactions.

* * * * *

Herbert's estates in west Wales seem to have been almost wholly administered by men whose connexion with those estates predated their cession to the baron in 1461. Thus, while the Treasurership of County Pembroke was only given to members of the family in the 1460's and 1470's, the possibly more arduous office of deputy-Treasurer was committed to local officials.

The Bennayth family's connexion with Pembroke's administration extended back to at least 1434-5, when Hugh Bennayth was serving as Sir William ap Thomas's deputy-Treasurer. The dependant lordship of Llanstephan also came within Hugh's jurisdiction as a leading official of Humphrey of Gloucester, for, in the same year, he was present at an auditing session held there.¹ Like Thomas Herbert, Hugh was arrested in 1447 along with other members of the Duke's retinue.² His career as a Pembroke official may nevertheless have been relatively uninterrupted: certainly, he appears as an official of the County very soon after Herbert's take-over, the 1461-2 account revealing him as the deputy-Treasurer and attorney of the lord in the local courts.³ It was Hugh's son, Richard, who appears on the same account as the improver of the Pembroke mills and collector of the issues of certain escheated lands,⁴ and, by the mid-1460's, he had

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1563. A member of this family was described as 'of Pembroke ... alias ... of Monkton' in 1467, and Hugh certainly held at least one burgage tenement in Pembroke town which was torn down for defensive purposes in 1461. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 515. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.
2. Sir H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, 2nd series, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564.
4. A pardon of 1467 describes Richard as 'Richard Bennrayth ... alias Richard Hugh ... alias Richard Benet'. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 515.

succeeded his father as deputy-Treasurer.¹ His relationship with the Herbert family was apparently an exclusively official one, there being no evidence to suggest any involvement in the family's private affairs.

Henry Gilmyn was probably another member of the local, professional corps retained by Herbert in 1461. As early as 1461-2 he was holding the significant office of Receiver of Walwyn's Castle and was simultaneously the clerk of the Pembroke courts.² By the mid-1460's he had joined Bennayth as one of the deputy-Treasurers of the County, and was still busily at work as the deputy of the absent Treasurer a decade later.³ Gilmyn continued to occupy the office of court clerk into the 1470's; but the Receivership of Castle Walwyn had been transferred to the Treasurer by 1475, a re-arrangement which, in practice, may not have greatly affected the burden of Henry's duties. His role in the administration of these properties may have become less significant following their transfer to the Prince of Wales in 1479; although he was not wholly displaced and held office as the court clerk in the lordship of Castle Walwyn.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501 and 1502.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502 and 1503. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

4. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1208/9 (and) 11.

The Perrot family of Haroldston near Haverford had certainly played a significant part in the administration of Pembroke County prior to Herbert's acquisition of that lordship.¹ In May 1450, for example, the offices of Steward and Treasurer of the County had been granted for life to Sir Thomas and John Perrot respectively.² The family's interests were however far from restricted to the County and extended into the neighbouring lordships of Llanstephan and Haverford, and into the Southern Principality.³ Their involvement in the Principality's affairs brought the Perrots into close contact with Griffith ap Nicholas, the leading, native administrator of South Wales. Despite the fact that Griffith took a daughter of Sir Thomas Perrot's as his second wife, the relationship may not always have run smoothly.⁴ Nevertheless, it probably helped to draw the Perrots into the service of Jasper Tudor in the late 1450's: in 1459 the Lancastrian Earl put forward the names of Sir Thomas and Thomas Perrot as potential commissioners to raise the king's loyal subjects in Pembrokeshire, and Sir Thomas is said to have fought with Jasper at Mortimer's Cross.⁵ The family's attachment to the Lancastrian cause does not however seem to have outweighed the attractiveness of its

1. For the family's landed stake in the area, see: H. Owen, Calendar of the Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire, Cymmrodorion Record Series 7, Vol. III, p. 97. H. Owen, Owen's Pembrokeshire, Cymmrodorion Record Series 1, Part 1, p. 112n.
2. C.P.R. (1446-52), p. 326.
3. In 1433 John Perrot (d.1454) farmed the lordship of Dinevor on a 20-year lease, and he also served as the royal attorney in the Southern Principality. The Perrots had obviously held land in Llanstephan prior to 1480. Sir Thomas Perrot was appointed as a royal commissioner of enquiry in Haverford in 1449, the appointment undoubtedly reflecting the family's local significance as landholders. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 222, 324. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1208/11. C.P.R. (1446-52), p. 272.
4. Thus, Griffith and one of his sons intruded themselves into John Perrot's Dinevor lease in 1439, while, for his part, John was ordered to act against the officials of Tenby during the 1450's for their failure to arrest another of Griffith's sons. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', pp. 324 and 539.
5. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', c. p.550. H.T. Evans, Wales and the Wars of the Roses, Cambridge, 1915, p. 124.

members as administrators, and a John Perrot duly appears on the Pembroke account of 1461-2 as Herbert's Sheriff.¹ The Sheriff of the 1460's is perhaps to be identified with the Jankyn Perrot of Scotsborough (near Tenby) who was killed at Edgecote.² Immediately after the Herbert withdrawal from Pembroke, the office was held by another member of the family, William, and the Perrots continued to be of significance in west Wales into the subsequent century.³

The backgrounds and careers of the two Bennayths, Henry Gilmyn and John Perrot thus strongly suggest that Herbert retained existing administrators, or replaced them from families which had traditions of service in the County's administration, when he entered into his estates

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564. According to the 'Herbertorum Prosapia', it was a Thomas Perrot who was appointed as Sheriff by Lord Herbert in November 1462. A Thomas Perrot certainly served as a fellow-commissioner of the second Herbert Earl in August 1471. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 42. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 289.
2. J.O. Halliwell, Warkworth's Chronicle, Camden Society, 1839, pp. 6-7.
3. Ministers' Accounts; S.C. 6 1208/12. D.W.B., pp. 747-8.

in west Wales.¹ This was perhaps the inevitable reaction of a man suddenly granted extensive properties away from his home area. It is doubtful whether Herbert had spare officials of the necessary calibre ready to draft into West Wales in 1461, and the fact that he was

1. So far as we can tell, the case of these four, top officials would seem to have been quite typical of that of many of the Herbert administrators in west Wales. The details of the careers of three of Herbert's Haverford officials lead one to the same conclusions. John Harry - or Harries - was serving as the deputy of the Itinerant Bailiff of that lordship in 1456-7. The farming of Haverford to Lord Herbert seems to have resulted in the removal of at least some of the absentee officials and the devolution of theoretical, as well as practical, power into the hands of the deputies: by 1462-3 John Harry thus appears as the baron's Improver, Escheator and Constable, and he had become responsible for the collection of the issues of escheated Malefaunte lands in the Haverford area by the mid-1460's (N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1565, 1566, 1501, 1502 and 1503). Harry was clearly a locally-based official, probably an ancestor of John Harrys the elder of Haverfordwest who died in, or shortly before, 1536. (H. Owen, Calendar of Public Records relating to Pembrokeshire, Vol. I, p. 33). William ap Owen, who served Herbert as Receiver of Haverford during the 1460's, similarly had a prior connexion with that lordship - and probably with its administration - having been appointed as a royal commissioner there in December 1459 (C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 561: N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1566, 1501, 1502 and 1503). It is at least possible that the David ap Owen - or ap Bowen - principally involved in the illegal garrisoning of Pembroke Castle in 1478 was another member of this Haverford family (P.R.O. Privy Seal Office: Warrants for the Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2386 and 2359 B). One of William ap Owen's fellow-commissioners in 1459 was John Tankard. Tankard's connexion with Haverford, which would seem to date back to at least 1449, was obviously maintained during the 1460's, for, when he was commissioned as a justice of the Great Sessions at Carmarthen in 1466-7, the letters were sent to Haverford (C.P.R. (1446-52), p. 272: Ministers' Accounts., S.C.6 1225/1). He does not appear to have served Herbert in Haverford during the 1460's, although he very probably cooperated with the baron in the Southern Principality during those years: by 1475-6 however Tankard was being feed as the second Earl of Pembroke's attorney in County Pembroke (N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569).

simultaneously attempting to pacify and defend the area obviously made any drastic revision of the existing administration a time-consuming luxury and a politically-dangerous act; neither of which could be afforded during the early 1460's. What William does appear to have done - again predictably - is to have replaced the personnel at the top, so that the key offices came into the hands of those he could trust; most of them members of his family.¹ Herbert probably had little cause to regret his retention of experienced, local men, but, for all their hard work on the family's behalf, these officials seem to have remained men who were primarily attached to their locality and its administration by their own interests. In none of the cases reviewed is there any evidence of the development of non-official links with the Herbert family. On the contrary, most of the family's western officials transferred their talents and experience to the Prince of Wales on the Herberts' withdrawal with the same facility and lack of concern for the identity of the lord that they had evinced in 1461.

* * * * *

The accounts of the estates acquired in south-western England reflect, once again, Herbert's necessary reliance upon the local gentry for his officials.

1. Thus, in 1461-2, William Herbert, esquire, held the offices of Treasurer and Steward and John ap Guillim Thomas that of Constable of Tenby. The identity and provenance of John ap Hoell ap Jankyn, Herbert's Constable at Pembroke, remain obscure. In all probability, the baron imported a trusted supporter of his from eastern Wales to keep Pembroke Castle, for this was clearly one of the most important of the western offices at this time. Quite apart from the danger of a Lancastrian resurgence supported by the native population - a danger which made possession of the fortress of considerable significance - John was entrusted with the transmission of considerable sums of money for the payment of the Pembroke garrison. The steps taken to improve the Castle's defences (which included the tearing-down of adjacent buildings) witness the precarious state of the Yorkist hold on West Wales in the years immediately after the accession of Edward IV (N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1564, (and bills) and 1569—Pembroke town account). John's service would seem to have endured into the 1470's, for he was among those pardoned in 1478 for contempt of the royal summons and the illegal retention of the Castle (P.R.O. Warrants for the Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2386).

William Mauncell had probably been in office under the Lutterells before 1461: he appears on the 1461-2 Dunster account as Herbert's parker at Minehead, but was being described as 'the late parker' in 1465-6.¹

A Thomas Mauncell was actively involved in the affairs of the West Country following Edward's accession, while a John Mauncell had served as a customs officer in Dorset in the 1450's.² There can be little doubt that William was related to these men; that the family was settled in the area, and that a connexion with the Lutterells probably pre-dated William's service as a Herbert official.

Roger Dinham was, like William Mauncell, a lesser member of a significant West Country family.³ As the scion of a Yorkist family, Roger was rewarded in 1461 with the stewardship of Duchy of Cornwall properties in Devonshire and the wardenship of the stannaries in the same county,⁴ and was kept busy during the 1460's and 1470's as a

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557. As a man knowledgeable about the Lutterell properties, William was commissioned in 1469 to enquire into petitions arising from the confiscation of these estates by Edward IV. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 193 and 200.
2. Thomas served as Escheator of Somerset and Dorset in the 1460's, and was granted receiverships of Crown lands in the West Country in 1461 and 1462. (C.F.R. (1461-71), p. 48: C.P.R. (1461-67), pp. 8 and 111: R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 623). He was possibly the Thomas Mauncell, esquire, who saw service in France with the Duke of Somerset in the late 1440's and was employed at that time to raise money on the king's jewels. (J.A. Stevenson, Wars of the English in France, Vol. I, pp. 480 and 503: C.P.R. (1446-52), pp. 267-8). In 1461 he was perhaps significantly commissioned to provide sailors for a Minehead vessel (C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 99). When Thomas passed his properties to feoffees in 1467, they included manors in Berkshire and Devonshire, as well as some London property (C.D.R. (1461-68), p. 442). John Mauncell, a customs officer at Poole from November 1454, was dead by February 1472: the writ of diem clausit extremum was sent to the Somerset Escheator; as was the writ issued in respect of William in July 1508 (C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 202: C.F.R. (1471-85), no.6: C.F.R. (1485-09), p. 878). An entry on the Close Roll for 1473 refers to a past deed of John Mauncell the younger and William, his brother, which suggests that William was possibly the son of the John who died in 1472 (C.D.R. (1468-76), no.1568).
3. Sir John Dinham (d.1458) had at least three sons: John, later Lord Dinham (d.1501), the prominent servant of the Yorkist kings and Henry Tudor, Charles and Roger. The family's interests were clearly strongest in Devonshire; although John's inheritance in 1458 also lay in Cornwall, Somerset, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire. C.F.R. (1452-61), pp. 194 and 208. G.E.C., The Complete Peerage, Vol. IV, pp. 377-82. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 333.
4. C.P.R. (1461-67), p.19.

government commissioner in the West Country.¹ In these circumstances, it was natural - and possibly prudent - of the second Earl of Pembroke to commit the stewardship of the outlying Devonshire property of Chilton Lutterell to Roger, which he had done by 1474-5.²

Sir Giles Daubeney, who appears as the Dunster Steward in 1478-9,³ was another important member of the West Country gentry. The Daubeney lands lay in the Midlands as well as in Somerset and Cornwall; but the family's main seat seems to have been its property at South Petherton in Somerset.⁴ Sir Giles had already attained a position of some importance in that county by 1478-9: he had served as Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset in 1474; had represented the former county in the parliament of 1477, and, as an esquire of the body, had been granted the custody of the royal forest of Petherton in the same year.⁵ Daubeney's local significance probably reflected, in large part, the close relationship he enjoyed with his king: he accompanied Edward to France in 1475, and had been created an esquire of the body and - in 1478 - a knight of the Bath.⁶ He was clearly a useful

1. C.P.R. (1452-61), pp. 607, 652 and 656. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 55, 351, 403 and 628.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.
4. When Giles' father, William, died in 1461, writs of diem clausit extremum were addressed to the counties of Somerset, Cornwall, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire and Nottinghamshire. Following his death, William was referred to as 'of South Petherton, Somerset'. C.F.R. (1452-61), p. 282. C.F.R. (1461-71), p. 1. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 641.
5. C.F.R. (1471-85), no. 232. R. Somerville, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 628. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 47.
6. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 533. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 47. W. Shaw, The Knights of England, London 1906, Vol.I, p. 138.

man - perhaps an indispensable one - to have in one's employ, and it was this consideration (rather than any close personal attachment) which probably dictated his employment as the second Earl's Dunster Steward. Daubeney played a part in the final partition of the Earl of Huntingdon's estates and held the Receivership of the Stoke-under-Hamdon properties in the early sixteenth century, but it is to be doubted whether these duties were the consequence of any long-standing attachment to the Herbert family.¹ We may however be justified in reading more significance into Lord Daubeney's appearance as a feoffee of Sir Hugh Lutterell, the restored lord of Dunster, in 1493: this relationship may well have had its origins in the days before Herbert was intruded into Somerset society.²

The careers of the two Receivers of Dunster who are known to us present something of a contrast to those of Mauncell, Dinham and Daubeney. Although both men appear to have been recruited locally, their relations with the Herbert family were relatively close and extended beyond the official sphere. The importance of their office and the relative frequency of their official duties may account for this difference. The steward's office was - although intermittent in the nature of its duties - far from a sinecure enjoyed by a local gentleman, and the incumbent was clearly relied upon to back up the efforts of the more continuously employed officials. Nevertheless, it was probably these more mundane officials, including receivers, who enjoyed the closest - if not the most polite - relations with their lord.

1. C.Cl.R. (1500-09), no's. 496 and 509. B.P. Wolffe, The Crown Lands, London, 1970, p. 144.
2. C.P.R. (1485-94), p. 454.

Richard Willy was serving as Receiver at Dunster as early as 1461-2, and was still hard at work in 1465-6. However, by the end of 1478-9, the office had been transferred to Walter Enderby; although his appointment was a recent one - apparently dating from 1477 - and Richard Willy was still active in a small way as a receiver.¹ The Herbert receiver of the 1460's and 1470's was probably the 'Richard Willy of Dunster, merchant' who was involved as a mainpinner in the appointment of an alnager for Somerset and Dorset in 1466: a man of this name also served as a customs officer at Bridgewater during the mid-1460's.² He seems to have become concerned with the administration of the Herbert's home estates as well as those of Dunster; appearing as a payee on the Wyesham-Monmouth account as early as 1469-70, and as the Steward there in 1477-8.³ During the early 1480's, Richard also held property of the family in Wyesham and at Wonastow.⁴ In the subsequent decade Willy was leasing pasture in St. Briavel's and the Forest of Dean from the Crown, and it is perhaps not without significance that the Herbert family had had an earlier connection with this lordship.⁵

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556, 1557 and 1558.
2. C.F.R. (1461-71), pp. 178-180, 182 and 198-200.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588 and 1508.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510, 1589 and 1590.
5. C.F.R. (1485-09), no's. 318, 582 and 750. When Richard died in 1502, a writ was addressed to the Herefordshire escheator, which also indicates that he held land north of the Bristol Channel.

Walter Enderby was possibly of greater social significance than Richard Willy. He held lands in Devenshire, and it seems likely that he came into contact with the family through its Dunster properties; certainly, when Walter first appears as a Herbert servant, he was in the service of the dowager-Countess Anne, who had held these properties during the second Earl's minority. In 1475-6 some of the Pembroke issues were thus paid to Walter 'to the Countess's use'.¹ In 1473 Enderby - described as a 'gentleman of London' - had become involved as a mainpurnor in a case being heard in the King's Bench and, as a consequence, had ended 100 marks in debt to the Exchequer. During the subsequent year, this debt and other sums totalling nearly £2,000 were assigned to the dowager-Countess, and, in August 1475, Walter appeared in the Exchequer to collect the relevant tallies on Anne's behalf.² His connection with Dunster is noticeable again in March 1478, when he was appointed as one of the Earl and Countess Mary's attornies to take seisin of some Dunster properties.³ His official position at this time is obscure, although he was receiving a fee from the dowager Countess by 1477.⁴ Walter's close association with the Herbert

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569.

2. The case concerned a dispute between Thomas Nevill, and Henry Bodrugan and Richard Bonethon of Cornwall. Walter was a feoffee to the use of Sir Henry Bodrugan from the mid-1460's. (Mary Herbert, daughter of the dowager-Countess, took Sir Henry as her second husband). P.R.O. Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt; Warrants for Issues, E.404/75/4/41. P.R.O. Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt; Receipt Rolls, E 401/920. C.Cl.R. (1485-00), no. 83.

3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 68.

4. In 1477-8 John Devereux, the Wellington Steward, was paid £5 'for the fee of Walter Enderby': Wellington was then in the hands of the dowager-Countess. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508.

family involved him in the dubious activities of some of its members in 1478, and he was among those pardoned for the unlicensed garrisoning of Pembroke Castle and the contempt of the royal summons issued on this count.¹ He had obtained the offices of Receiver and Supervisor of Dunster in 1477, and the Receivership of the recently-acquired Duchy of Cornwall properties at Stoke-under-Hamdon was granted to him in 1479.² As well as being one of the most important of the Earl of Huntingdon's administrators, Enderby was also named as an executor in Herbert's 1483 will and became one of his feoffees in the subsequent year.³ It was probably as a consequence of his close relationship with the suddenly re-favoured Herberts that Walter was granted a royal annuity for life from Kidwelly in November 1483.⁴ However, despite all these evidences of a close connexion between the Herbert family and Enderby, one cannot doubt that the most important tie so far as Walter was concerned was that which bound him to his locality in general, and to the Lutterell properties in particular, and, two years before his death in 1495, he became a feoffee of the restored lord of the Dunster barony, Sir Hugh Lutterell.⁵ Enderby may have continued to serve the Earl in respect of the Stoke properties, but, whether he did or not, he had clearly achieved a position of some importance in the south-west

1. P.R.O. Privy Seal Office: Warrants for the Privy Seal; P.S.O. 1/46/2384. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 128.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558. Enderby was apparently often in London. Not only is he sometimes described in the public records as of that city, but at least one livery of cash from Somerset was made to him in London, and another in 'Le Flete' - possible a reference to the gaol of the Common Pleas.
3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72-4.
4. B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo. 30.
5. C.P.R. (1485-94), p. 454.

by the 1490's, when his local power was further augmented by the grants and commissions of the Crown.¹

In the case of Dunster, as in that of Pembroke, Lord Herbert was not content (or able) to rely wholly on local men for his administrators. One of the men whom he chose to send into the barony was yet another member - albeit distant - of the prolific Herbert family. The work of this man at Dunster and elsewhere on the family's behalf was both important and probably fairly typical of the labours of others of the baron's relatives. The details of his career will thus serve to remind us of the contribution made by the family itself to the administration of William's estates.

The John Herbert who served Lord Herbert as an official was very probably a member of the Raglan family of Llantwit. The blood relationship of the Raglans and the Herbert family is very probable; although the actual details are obscure.² The connexion between the two families was however strong by the 1450's: John Herbert and Robert Raglan took part in Glamorgan conveyances with, and for, Sir William Herbert during that decade, while William and John ap Robert Raglan of Llantwit were indicted for having aided Herbert in October 1456.³

1. He thus served as the Sheriff of Devonshire in 1491-2, and of Dorset and Somerset in 1492-3. In 1493 he was appointed as the Duchy of Lancaster feodary in certain of the southern counties. R. Somerville, op.cit., p. 626. C.F.R. (1489-09), no's 376 and 462.
2. Sir Thomas Herbert has the Raglans as descendants of Thomas ap Guillim ap ~~Jenkin~~ Jenkin, Sir William ap Thomas's father. Some deed evidence of the 1460's suggests that John of Llantwit used the surnames 'Herbert' and 'Raglan' indifferently. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', Appendix. G.T. Clark, Cartae et Alia Munimenta, Cardiff 1910, Vol V, 1657, 1664 and 1666.
3. Ibid., Vol. V, 1637 and 1635. Ancient Indictments, K.B. 9/35, no.102. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 367.

John Herbert was a close associate of Lord Herbert's during the 1460's, and continued to serve William's family into the 1470's. As John Herbert or Raglan he acted as the baron's Supervisor and Steward at Dunster in the early 1460's, and was granted an annuity from the barony's issues in October 1465.¹ He reappears as one of the family's leading estate officials in 1480-1, when he is referred to as the Supervisor of the second Earl's Welsh and Marcher properties at a fee of £10 a year.²

At least some of the intervening years had been spent in Herbert's service in west and north Wales. As John Herbert (or less-commonly Raglan), he was feed as the king's attorney in the two counties of the Southern Principality between 1461 and 1468,³ and he was probably in west Wales in person by the mid-1460's, if not before. It is almost certain that he was involved in the military activities of those years in north Wales, for he was included in a number of oyer and terminer commissions issued in 1467-8 in respect of Wales and the Marches. In the same year he was given a reward by John Milewater, the royal Receiver-General, for escorting a captured servant of Queen Margaret from Raglan to London, and in November 1468 received an assignment to help defray the expenses of the Harlech operation on behalf of the Earl of Pembroke.⁴ John was

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556 and 1557.

2. N.L.W. ^Badminton M.R., 2610.

3. C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 69. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1224/5-9 (and) 1225/1-2.

4. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 54, 57 and 102. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1236/11. P.R.O. Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt; Receipt Rolls, E. 401/893.

moreover briefly Herbert's deputy as Chamberlain of North Wales in 1468-9.¹ During the 1470's he returned to the Southern Principality and served as the second Earl's deputy-Chamberlain in 1472 and 1475.²

The closeness of the link between John and the Herbert's is most convincingly demonstrated by the repeated use made of him as a feoffee. When Sir William passed his goods to feoffees in January 1461, John was among the grantees; he was a fellow-grantee with the Earl in 1468, when Beaumont properties were ceded to Herbert by the Crown, and was principally involved in the related Mowbray transactions.³ At some date prior to July 1469, he had also been entrusted with some of the Earl's London property.⁴ As 'cozen John', he was named as an executor in William's will, and appears as a beneficiary in the codicil.⁵ In 1478

1. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/636/10339.
2. R.A. Griffiths, 'Royal Government', p. 629. The Chamberlain's account for 1474-5 reveals the wide-ranging responsibilities of John Herbert in South Wales, as well as giving fairly clear indications of the control by then being exercised over the government of the Principality by the prince's council. In that year John transmitted monies to the prince's council; held the Great Sessions in place of the Justiciar, the second Earl of Pembroke; returned writs into the Exchequer, and oversaw repair works. A letter written by Earl Rivers to John Raglan about 1478 suggests that, whatever the Yorkist government's attitude towards his noble relative, he at least was regarded as a valuable member of the Principality's administration. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1225/6 and 1210/6.
3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 40 and 46/7. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 132. C.Cl.R. (1468-76), no. 142.
4. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, C. 140/32 no. 21.
5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8. P.C.C. Godwyn 228.

John was among those to whom the second Earl and his wife passed the Dunster barony, while during the subsequent decade he was made a feoffee of the Earl's in respect of his Welsh and Marcher properties.¹

John's relationship with the Herberts was possibly strengthened by his official and familiar links with their relatives, the Vaughans of Tretower, who were of some significance in Glamorgan by the 1470's and 1480's.²

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The careers of the administrators and family servants of the Raglan area present certain contrasts with those of the officials of west Wales and south-western England. Not surprisingly, many of those who served the Herberts in this area had been connected with the family before its rise to prominence in 1461, and, in one or two cases, service to the family spanned more than one generation. A second difference is noticeable so far as the Household, in particular, is concerned. Whereas administration at the estate level was almost wholly the business of laymen, the family relied heavily on clerks for the running of its central offices.

1. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 68, 72/3 and 77. C.Cl.R. (1500-09), no. 906.
2. Robert Raglan married a daughter of Roger Vaughan of Tretower. In 1474 John Herbert served as Thomas Vaughan's deputy as Steward of Llantwit, and he witnessed Thomas ap Roger Vaughan's grant to a cousin of the first Earl's in 1482. He was elected as Coroner of Glamorgan in 1477 and probably served alongside Vaughans in the administration of that lordship. D.W.B., p. 1000. G.T. Clark, op.cit., Vol. V, 1703. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', Appendix. N.L.W. Bute collection, Box 93, no. 147.

There is little to be said so far as the stewards and receivers of the south-eastern properties are concerned, for the latter office was rare in the area, while the stewardships were, to a great extent, monopolised by members of the Herbert family.

Jankyn ap David Vaughan, the Receiver of Raglan in the 1450's and 1460's, had clearly long been associated with the lordship and its lords, for he appears as one of the most prosperous tenants on the 1436-7 Raglan rental. His son, Thomas, was involved in the manor's administration by 1452-3, and is probably to be identified with the Thomas ap John who was active as a local official at Wonastow, Trelleck and Dingestow from the 1460's to the 1480's.

Thomas Braynton of Hereford was possibly drawn into the Herberts' service through the Devereux family: it was certainly as a receiver of the dowager-Countess that he was involved in the administration of Wellington and other of the Herefordshire properties in the late 1470's and early 1480's.¹ During these two decades, he was included in a number of commissions addressed to members of the Herbert and Devereux families, but of greater significance than these commissions - which may merely attest to Braynton's prominence in the affairs of Herefordshire - was his service as the second Earl of Pembroke's deputy at Usk in 1472.²

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1612, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1585, 1509, 1589 and 1590.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510. C.P.R. (1467-77), pp. 288 and 289. C.P.R. (1477-85), pp. 182, 401 and 491. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1396.

Thomas Ornell is one of the few non-familiar stewards of the south-eastern estates known to us. Ornell was an important citizen of Monmouth; important enough to become its Mayor in 1438 and again in the early 1460's.¹ He had apparently been drawn into Herbert affairs by 1441, when he, Thomas Herbert, esquire, and John Twining of St. Peter's, Gloucester, bound themselves to pay Sir William ap Thomas the sum of £50.² From 1449 Thomas was involved in the administration of Wyesham (although we cannot be absolutely certain that this property was in Herbert hands before 1453).³ By a life grant of October 1453, Ornell was given the Stewardship of the property at the rather low fee of 10s. a year, and he appears to have served the family in the Monmouth area for the rest of his life; that is, until about 1469.⁴ For all its mundane qualities, it would probably be a mistake to regard Ornell's career as insignificant, for he was a sufficiently close and trusted contact of the family by the 1450's to be used as a feoffee in respect of Wellington.⁵

John ap Jenkin Piers, who served as the Steward of Raglan during the 1450's, was another old and close associate of the Herbert family. As early as 1436-7, he was holding burgage properties in Raglan. He was prominent in the administration of Usk from the 1420's and certainly

1. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1805-8. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministerial Accounts; D.L. 29/596/9559.
2. Twining was the candidate supported by the Herberts in the dispute over the Prior's office at Goldcliff. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 37.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1580.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593.
5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 40. C.P.R. (1452-61), p. 215. Thomas Libik of Monmouth -described as a mercer in 1479 - was another of the townsmen who were drawn into the family's service. He appears on the Wyesham-Monmouth accounts as a supplier of the Household and a Herbert farmer during the 1460's; in 1468-9 he rode to the North on an errand of Herbert's, and he was apparently involved in the administration of the local properties of the family in the early 1480's. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, 1588 and 1510. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; DL42/19, fo.49b.

served alongside Sir William ap Thomas. He was still alive in 1461-2, when he was engaged in selling land in Rhyd-y-maen to Herbert, but probably died soon afterwards.¹

David ap Hoell Gibon was one of a number of lay officials attached to the Household who operated in the area about Raglan. At first sight, his career looks undistinguished: he does not, for instance, appear to have enjoyed any formal position in the administration, with the exception of a brief spell as the Wyesham-Monmouth bailiff in the 1470's.² His attachment to the Herbert family first becomes apparent in the 1450's: from 1454-5 he was leasing property in the Monmouth area from Herbert, although his farm was usually allowed to him and, by the late 1470's, was being explicitly described as a 'pension'.³ Even before his spell as the Wyesham bailiff, David seems to have had some responsibility for the area, and he appears on the accounts of the 1450's and 1460's as a collector of local issues, superintendant of repair and agricultural work, and supplier of goods to the Household.⁴ David, who certainly leased Herbert properties in Troy (and possibly did so at Crickhowell in the late 1470's), may have been dead by 1483, for in that year his pension was

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578, 1612, 1584, 1583 and 1585. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1588. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys, S.C. 11/818.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1594 and 1508.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1580 and 1583. For a more detailed account of his functions, see above, pp.334 ff.

dropped from the Wyesham-Monmouth account.¹ The general impression given by these details - of a busy, but unimportant, career on the Herbert estates of south-eastern Wales - is countered by the clear evidence of David's importance as a family servant and feoffee. Thus, the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke left David the land he held for life and £20 to wait on his heir, Lord Dunster, while a deed of 1480 makes it clear that Thomas Herbert's lands in Troy had at one time been in the hands of Robert ap Thomas (very probably an uncle of the first Earl's) and David ap Hoell.² As has already been suggested, it was probably David's son who, as John Vaughan, entered the family's service and served as the second Earl's Receiver-General.

David ap Hoell Gibon's active fellow-official, John ap Ioruerth Vaughan, was almost certainly one of the Herbert family's prosperous neighbours. By 1450 John and another man had acquired lands in Dingestow, while a deed of 1454 refers to land in Edlogan fee sold by him at some past date.³ By 1459 he ^{was} holding land in Llantilio Crossenny, some of which was leased from Sir William Herbert.⁴ John's service as a Herbert official dates back to at least 1453-4, when he was active at Wyesham-Monmouth.⁵ Throughout the 1450's and

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12, 1509, 1510, 1589, 1590 and 2610.
2. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8 and 76.
3. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1780. Newport Record Office, Deed 6125.
4. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/969. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.
5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1579.

1460's he was busily engaged on the family's south-eastern estates; attending audits and views-of-account; receiving issues; delivering goods to Raglan; overseeing the agricultural work of the area and the state of its properties; superintending repair work, and riding on the lord's business to other areas.¹ Although he frequently appears on the accounts without a title, by the 1460's he was being referred to as the 'lord's Improver'.² After 1470 we lose sight of John, until he reappears as the bailiff at Dingestow in the late 1470's.³ His son, John, was leasing land from the dowager-Countess at Chepstow in the 1480's, and is possibly to be identified with the John ap Jankin to whom victuals purchased for the Household by the Newport Receiver were delivered in 1465-6.⁴ This John ap Jankin was apparently still attached to the Household in 1484, when he acted as a witness to the Earl of Huntingdon's grant of his Welsh and Marcher properties to his mother and other feoffees.⁵

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1579, 1580, 1583, 1587, 1594, 1588 and 1585. For fuller details, see above, pp. 334 ff.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583 and 1594.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589, 1590 and 1591.
4. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 987. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510. An equally plausible identification however is with John ap Jankin ap Ievan ap Madoc, a prominent official in the lordship of Usk between the 1450's and 1480's, and one of those who witnessed Sir William Herbert's commital of his goods to executors in January 1461 (N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 410, 689, 929, 813 and 1397: 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 40). He - and another prominent Mortimer official and Herbert ally, Trahairon ap Ievan ap Meurig - were rewarded with the life grant of a Devonshire property in 1462 (C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 76). It was almost certainly he who, as 'John ap Jenkin', received a life annuity from Usk in 1483 - presumably for his opposition to Buckingham (B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo. 30).
5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72-3.

The career of Adam ap Meurig was, in many respects, similar to those of David ap Hoell and John ap Ioruerth. Like them, Adam was probably in the family's service by the 1450's: certainly, he was paid by the Raglan Receiver for the carriage of tithes in 1452-3.¹ He was clearly involved in the Household administration at Raglan during the 1460's, usually appearing in some financial capacity: in 1463-4, for instance, he paid a draft from the lord's coffers to the Raglan Receiver, and two years later himself received £53 from the Dunster Receiver.² He was also involved in the provisioning of Raglan, although probably as a subsidiary part of his function as a financial officer.³ Like David and, to a lesser extent, John, Adam does not appear to have had a formal position in the Herbert administration in the early 1460's, being termed merely 'the lord's servant'; although he was being called 'the lady's receiver' by 1470.⁴ The cryptic note written in 1461 by Richard Herbert to his 'well-beloved friend, Adam Meurig' suggests that he was a trusted servant of the family in general, and that his duties extended far beyond the purely financial.⁵ Not surprisingly, Adam was named as an executor in the Earl of Pembroke's will of July 1469.⁶ He clearly continued to act as a receiver and general supervisor

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1584 and 1557.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1588. For a more detailed description of Adam's function's, see above, pp. 342-3.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585 and 1587.

5. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 101.

6. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

in the Raglan area during the 1470's, but also saw service as the second Earl's Auditor in Pembroke. Adam's position in the administration of the south-eastern estates was however possibly formalised in that decade: in 1475 he was among those elected as Receiver in the court at Raglan, and by the late 1470's and early 1480's he was being termed 'the Earl's Receiver in Wales and the Marches' and the 'lord's Receiver-General'.¹ As a key official of the family, Adam was employed on a number of occasions as a witness and attorney by the second Earl during the 1470's and 1480's.²

John Thomlyn seems to have been another of the Herberts' gentry neighbours who were drawn into the administration of the Household. In 1432 a John ap Thomlyn had granted land in Usk lordship as the lord of Llanllywell and Tal-y-fan, while during the 1450's two John ap Thomlyn^s - the elder and the younger - ceded lands in Usk lordship to Sir William Herbert's brother, John ap Guillim.³ The Thomlyn family was clearly of some substance, for, in May 1497, when the feoffees of John ap Thomlyn, gentleman, made a grant of part of the lands which had descended to him from his father, these lay in the lordships of Tidenham, Usk, Newton and Caldicot.⁴ John had apparently entered Herbert's service by the early 1460's: in 1463-4 he paid drafts

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569, 1676, 1591 and 1509. The Stewardship of Wonastow had also been committed to Adam by 1479-80.
2. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1523, 587 and 798.
3. B.M. Additional Charter, 7148. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 410, 411, 413, 414 and 1260.
4. Newport Record Office, Deed 5564.

to the Raglan Receiver, which suggests that he was then holding some post - possibly a financial one - in the Household. Two years later, he was involved in the transmission of cash from Swansea to the Receiver-General and, in 1466-7 and 1467-8, deputized for that official as Receiver at Swansea.¹ In short, it seems highly probable that John was a member of the Receiver-General's staff during the 1460's. His function was however far from exclusively concerned with the receipt of cash. Thus in 1464-5 fish was sent to the Household from Wyesham-Monmouth at John's command, and he was paid by the Dunster Receiver during the subsequent year for wine delivered to the Temple on Herbert's behalf. As the dowager-Countess's Treasurer in 1470, Thomlyn was once again much concerned with the expenditure of the Household.² It is not altogether clear whether Thomlyn shared Robert Overton's office as Household Steward in 1477-8: what is certain is that he was still an important member of the Household staff and was significant as a recipient of goods and cash.³ John's close association with the Herbert family, as well as his past experience as an administrator in the Swansea area, are perhaps sufficient explanation of his service as Thomas ap Rosser Vaughan's deputy-Steward at Oxwich in the 1480's.⁴

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1584, 1501, 1502 and 1503.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1594, 1557 and 1587.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 12.
4. G.T. Clark, op.cit., Vol. V, 1721.

To some extent, the Herbert Household appears to have been staffed by clerks. This was especially the case so far as the Household stewards were concerned. During the 1460's the incumbent of this office was Roger Bromfield, chaplain, who appears on local, ministerial accounts as the recipient of goods and provisions purchased on behalf of the Household, and ^{with} attended certain of the auditing sessions to substantiate local officials' claims for allowance in this respect.¹ The second Earl's Household stewards were also clerks. Robert Overton was occupying the office by 1475-6, and was still active in that capacity two years later. He had possibly been drawn into the service of the Herbert family as a consequence of its connexion with the Greys of Powis, for a Robert Overton, clerk of Westbury, Shropshire, received a pardon in 1476, and, in the course of the subsequent year, was granted the chaplaincy of Welshpool Castle for life; that office being in the Crown's hands by reason of the minorities of the heirs of the Earl of Worcester and Lord Powis.² Another clerk, William Brockbury, had either replaced Overton, or joined him in his office, by 1479, when he was paid a £15 draft as Steward by the Dunster Receiver.³ As a prominent Household official, Brockbury acted as a feoffee, executor and attorney for the Earl of Huntingdon during the 1480's.⁴ With the probable exception of Overton, all these clerks were very likely local men.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1582, 1584, and 1594. His functions are discussed above; see, pp. 344 ff Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569 and 12. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 503. C.P.R. (1476-85), p. 58.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.
4. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 798. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72-4. C.Cl.R. (1500-09), no. 522.

Another of the family's clerical servants was the Rector at nearby Llansoy; although it is unfortunately not possible to state whether his institution preceded his involvement in Herbert affairs. Sir Edward ap Jankyn witnessed a Herbert deed in 1465, and was obviously a close associate of the first Earl's by 1469, when he was left £20 to sing for Herbert's soul and teach Lord Dunster and the other children, and a further sum to sing at Llantilio and to hire clerks for similar duties in other churches in the Raglan area.¹ In a codicil to his will, William recommended this clerk to the Countess as a counsellor. Anne seems to have taken her husband's advice, for Edward appears as her chaplain, Household official and receiver in the late 1470's and early 1480's.²

* * * * *

After reviewing the careers of the major officers of the Herbert estates in west Wales, south-western England and the Raglan area, we now return to the highest level of the administration and to those whose support was essentially intermittent. There is unfortunately very little evidence concerning the Herbert counsellors, and we can only name two of the family's advisers with any certainty; although there are good grounds for including a third man.

1. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1125 and 1360. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.
2. P.C.C. Godwyn 228. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510.

Like other families with property to safeguard and augment, and relations with the government and its departments to maintain, the Herberts needed specialist advice and help in general, and legal counsel in particular. Thomas Laken probably supplied Herbert with such advice during the 1450's: by 1453-4 he had been retained during pleasure to counsel the knight at an annual fee of £2.¹ He was very probably a younger son of Sir Richard Laken of Shropshire, and a close relative of the William Laken who was ordered to become a sergeant-at-law in 1453 and was made a justice of the King's Bench in 1465.² It seems a little strange that Herbert should have sought legal aid from so far outside his home area, and the close relations which existed between the Lakens and their powerful neighbours, the Talbots, do not suggest any immediately-obvious solution to this problem: the connexion was possibly the result of Herbert's links with the Talbots via the administration of the Earldom of March.³ Whatever its provenance, the relationship would seem to have been of short duration, for the Herbert estate records only contain the one reference to Thomas's fee.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593.

2. C.Cl.R. (1441-47), pp. 435-7. C.Cl.R. (1447-54), p. 381.
C.P.R. (1461-67), p. 442.

3. The 1442-3 valor of the Mortimer properties in Wales and the Marches reveals that annuities totalling £200 were payable to the Earl of Shrewsbury: Herbert's father was, at this time, a major official of York's, and it is thus possible that his son's links with Talbot and his followers had their origins during the 1440's. It seems more likely however that the relationship dated from the period of Herbert's own service as a Mortimer official; that is, from the 1450's. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C.11/818.

In the case of Roger Bodenham, who had been retained to counsel the second Earl by 1479-80, the attraction may have been his importance as a local, Crown official, rather than any specialist skills he possessed.¹ In May 1479 Roger was appointed as the Steward of Monmouth and the grant makes it clear that he had previously occupied the office without formal appointment.² It was probably this - Bodenham's official importance in the immediate vicinity of Raglan - which made it desirable to draw him into the service of the Herbert family.³ Once again, there is little indication in the details of Bodenham's later career of any lasting attachment to the interests of the Herbert family.

Kenelm Dygas was clearly another of the family's advisers. Dygas, who was settled in Gloucestershire, had entered the service of the first Earl of Pembroke by December 1468: on the 9th of that month tallies worth £2,716 in favour of the Earl were received at the Exchequer by Dygas, while a further assignment made in January 1469 was similarly delivered into Kenelm's hands.⁴ As a prominent servant of the Earl's, Dygas was also involved in the complicated transactions which resulted in the transference of the Duke of Norfolk's properties

1. N.L.W. ^Badminton M.R., 1509 and 2610.
2. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/19, fo.6b.
3. It should however be noted that Roger's tenure of the Monmouth office did not extend beyond September 1479 and that his retainer was still being paid in 1481. Was he thus kept on as a Herbert adviser after the reason for his appointment had disappeared, or had the Monmouth office itself been a recognition by the Crown of Bodenham's existing connexion with the area and the Herberts? The Bodenham family was settled in Herefordshire and related to the Devereuxs of Weobley by tenurial and personal ties: it is thus possible that Roger may have entered the family's service at some date prior to 1479. For the Bodenham family's links with the Devereux family, see: Keele University Library, Raymond Richards' Collection; W.H. Cooke, Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford in Continuation of Duncumb's History—Grimsworth Hundred, 1892, p. 63.
4. P.R.O. Exchequer: Exchequer of Receipt, Receipt Rolls, E. 401893.

in south Wales to Herbert. Thus, during the course of December 1468, he was associated with the Earl in the Crown grant of the reversions of certain Beaumont properties and in the Duke of Norfolk's grant of a rent from Mowbray estates in southern England.¹ In April 1469 Dygas again served as the Earl's attorney, on this occasion surrendering letters-patent into the Chancery to be cancelled.² He certainly continued in the family's employ after the first Earl's death. In 1471 he was appointed as a commissioner of oyer and terminer with the young Earl in south Wales and the Marches; an appointment which may reflect his relationship with the Herbert family.³ More significantly, he was being paid an annuity of five marks by the Earl of Huntingdon at the end of that decade.⁴ We may not be too wrong in seeing in Dygas a lawyer-gentleman whose function was to advise the family and watch over its interests at Westminster. Despite the 1471 commission and his own involvement in Gloucestershire's affairs, Dygas probably played an insignificant part in the local transactions of the family.

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1. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 132; 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 46/7.

2. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 111.

3. C.P.R. (1467-77), p. 289.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1558.

It is thus probable that the administrators of the estates acquired by the Herbert family during the 1460's were left largely undisturbed; although key military and financial offices were often delivered into the hands of trusted officials from the Raglan area or members of the baron's family. Nor, so far as we can tell, does there ever seem to have been much of an attempt to break away from this expedient course and strengthen the genuinely Herbert element in the administrations of Dunster and Pembroke: the appointments of Dinham and Enderby at Dunster perhaps testify to a belief on the part of the Herbert^s and their advisors that concession to local interests was the road to efficient administration.

There was, on the other hand, clearly no such need to abandon the administration of Raglan and its surrounding properties to the local gentry. From its neighbours, tenants, chaplains and official contacts - and not least from its own considerable resources - the Herbert family had, over the course of time, created an administrative staff for Raglan and the other properties of the patrimony. These men and their sons were the true Herbert administrators, and it was from this pool of skilful and trustworthy men that the baron drew the relatively few officials he imposed upon the local administrations of Pembroke and Dunster, and - equally important - the commissioners he sent out to treat with the communities of the new lordships and check-up on the activities of the local officials. It was from this same group that the semi-itinerant Receiver-General was chosen. This skilful and selective use of the Herbert family and officials probably obviated the worst dangers inherent in an administration staffed, to a great extent, by relative strangers.

Chapter VII

The Income of Lord Herbert

Of William Herbert's wealth there can be little doubt. Raglan Castle stands as tangible evidence of the considerable financial resources at the disposal of Sir William ap Thomas and his son.¹ The documentary evidence too reveals Herbert as a man of great substance. He figures in both public and private records as the tenant of extensive estates and numerous offices. From the same sources we learn that Herbert owned some ships, at least one of which was of some size,² while he himself acknowledged possession of a considerable quantity of plate and jewellery in his will.³ But just how wealthy was Herbert, and how did he compare with other fifteenth-century nobles in this respect? It is the purpose of this chapter to attempt an answer to these questions.

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1. A.J. Taylor, Raglan Castle, Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, 1950.
2. Miss Scofield believes that Herbert's ship 'The Gabriell' may have been comparable with some of the king's ships in size. This vessel was wrecked on the Irish coast in 1465, while on a return voyage with wine and other merchandise. C.L. Scofield, The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, Cass 1967, Vol. II, p. 418. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 427. For references to another of Herbert's ships, 'The Mary', see: N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502, 1503 and 1567.
3. Herbert left his heir, Lord Dunster, £1,000 in cash; £1,000 worth of the best plate, and all his chains, garters, collars and tapesteries. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

Income from land was of great importance to the medieval nobleman and any study of his income must depend heavily upon estate records for its information.¹ However, while revenue derived from land was the basis of most noble incomes, they were often importantly supplemented by the fees received for offices held under the Crown or on the estates of fellow aristocrats. In the case of Herbert's income, we are particularly fortunate in that, in addition to the ministerial accounts, three Receiver-General's accounts from the mid-1460's survive: these accounts contain not only details of the cash transmitted to the centre from the estates, but also information about some of the many fees received by William Herbert. Given then that we have to use estate records, and that, in some respects at least, the Herbert documents promise to be reasonably comprehensive, the question of how the accounts are to be used arises.

1. The inadequacies of those public records which might have given us a general picture of the 15th-century nobleman's income reinforce our dependence upon the private and land-based records. In their survey of the sources of information relating to baronial incomes, Dr. Ross and Dr. Pugh found that the values given in inquisition post mortem returns were often unreliable indications of the annual value of estates. Even in cases where the Crown was concerned enough to order a valuation, the figures were apt to be distorted by the difficulties involved in forecasting income from sources which, by their nature, were subject to fluctuation. A number of other records were often produced as a consequence of lands being in the Crown's ward; but their valuations were frequently based upon those of the inquest returns. When we take into account the incomplete survivals of these records, it becomes clear that they are unlikely to be very helpful in the task of estimating the value of a peer's income. Nor do the taxation records hold out much hope, if the example of 1436 is typical: family settlements of property, combined with the effects of the terms of the grant (which excluded certain types of income), resulted in a level of taxation which seems to have varied from peer to peer and to have ~~borne~~ little relation to total incomes. C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, 'Materials for the Study of Baronial Incomes in Fifteenth-Century England' (in) Econ.Hist. Rev. 1953. C.D. Ross and T.B. Pugh, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', (in) Bull. Inst. Hist. Research 1953.

Our first problem is that of deciding what we mean by income, for estate records present a number of possibilities in this respect. Will gross income - that is, the amount of the charge realized with no deductions for running costs and local expenditure - serve as a meaningful standard of landed wealth? The question is in fact of academic interest only so far as the Herbert properties are concerned, for we do not possess ministerial accounts for all the lands William held - let alone a complete set for one year.¹ To a greater or lesser extent, this problem of incomplete survival affects the records of Herbert's contemporaries, so that even if the total gross income from land could be computed in our case, there would almost certainly be very little to compare it with. It is moreover doubtful whether such a figure would have meant much in fifteenth-century terms. Although the gross income did belong to the lord, he had a dubious measure of freedom to dispose of certain parts of it: officials had to be paid and - usually - barn roofs repaired when there was a danger of their falling in. In many cases no decision to pay or withhold payment was involved; payment being practically automatic from year to year. Where a decision was necessary, one suspects that it was more often that of the higher officials than of the

1. A comparison made between a list of the Herbert properties for which contemporary ministerial accounts survive and those detailed on the Receiver-General's accounts revealed a number of additional estates. These fall into four main groups. There are a number of properties in Glamorgan, which included Wryneheston and West Barry farmed from the Duchesses of Suffolk and Somerset respectively. Then there are the Mowbray lordships in west Wales held during the minority of the Duke of Norfolk; the ex-Talbot property of Goodrich/Archenfield, and finally some additional properties in the County Pembroke area, some of which were in Herbert's hands in ward.

lord himself. This was probably the case even where the lord was as assiduous as Herbert obviously was. In short then, the lord's interest was likely to be slight in these instances, amounting at most to a watchfulness for any signs of inflation in these costs, which would threaten his net income.¹

If however there is a danger of taking an over-generous view of a peer's landed income, we also run the risk of going to the other extreme and being too restrictive. The main aim and organization of the administrative machinery which ran a complex of estates encourage one to take this limited view. It is probably true to say that estate management in the fifteenth century had one major goal; that of raising and transmitting cash to the lord. At the apex of an administration devoted to this end we frequently find a supreme receiving official, accepting the liveries of cash and entering the details on his accounts.² The sum of the cash payments received by such an official seems to provide us with a ready-made approximation of the value of the lord's income from land. Such a figure has moreover the advantage of being free of the fixed charges and local expenses of the type described above: these items would have been met as the revenues

1. Values of gross income are often taken from valors, but these figures refer only to the income expected, not to that actually produced. (There is anyway no valor for the Herbert properties as a whole). It might be objected that the valor, by detailing and totalling potential gross revenue sums, demonstrates the contemporary meaningfulness of the concept of gross revenue. The document's main purpose however was surely that of determining potential net income; the assessment of potential gross income was a necessary, but subordinate, procedure.
2. This is an over-simplified view of 15th-century estate management. While the employment of a receiver-general was fairly common, it was far from universal. In some cases local receivers thus paid their issues directly to the lord. Perhaps most common of all was a system combining elements of both schemes. This was the case so far as the Herbert estates were concerned: a supreme receiver was responsible for the collection of the issues of the majority of the properties, while a few lordships' receivers enjoyed direct contact with the lord.

ascended through the heirarchy of receipts towards the receiver-general. In other words, this income would be net.¹

However, while the administrative machinery of a complex of estates existed primarily to produce cash, it could be - and often was - turned to other ends. One of the functions it was often called upon to perform was that of dispensing the revenues it had collected. It was no doubt a cumbersome - and often unnecessary - procedure to transmit all the surplus cash to the centre. By the use of letters of assignment and orders to local officers to purchase commodities 'for the lord's use', the flow of cash from the localities to the centre could be diverted, usually at the level of the local receipt.² Thus, the sums received at the centre were likely to represent only a part of the net income from land.

There is moreover another reason why the figures recorded by a receiver-general are frequently unlikely to give us a correct impression of the value of a lord's income. Here again the flaw is that of exclusion; but in this case the exclusion of whole properties from the scope of that official's account, rather than those parts of an estate's revenues which had been tapped at - or near - their source.

1. There is also reason to suppose that the value of the cash liveries which reached the lord had a contemporary significance as a standard of seigneurial wealth. Dr. Jack found that the 'clear values' entered on the Grey of Ruthin valor of 1467-8 'bear a closer relation to the liveries of money than to any other feature of the account.'
R.I. Jack, The Grey of Ruthin Valor, Sydney University Press, 1965, p. 17.
2. Although these irregular, or 'foreign', payments were usually at their most significant at the level of the local receipt, such items could figure prominently in the accounts of individual properties, especially where the lordship in question was near - or was itself - a major seigneurial residence.

We now turn from a consideration of some of the difficulties involved in the use of estate records in general, and those of a supreme receiver in particular, for the purpose of estimating the value of a noble income to the specific case of Lord Herbert's income.

* * * * *
William Herbert's income came primarily from his lands. Between May 1465 and May 1468 deliveries of cash from the baron's estates to his Receiver-General were worth about £2,400 a year.¹ It is interesting to note that of the six lordships which produced over £100 in 1465-6, all but one had come into Herbert's hands as a result of Crown grants. Pembroke County and the Talbot property of Goodrich Castle and Archenfield had formed the major part of the grant of February 1462. Three of the properties were however only temporarily in Lord Herbert's hands: Haverford was farmed from the Crown; Swansea, Gower and Kilvey were similarly held during the minority of the Duke of Norfolk - although Herbert purchased these lordships in 1468, and Newport and Wentloog were farmed from the Crown during the minority of the Duke of Buckingham's heir.² Only Crickhowell, which produced £146 in cash during 1465-66, had been purchased by Herbert.³ In the

1. In 1465-66 the liveries from the estates totalled £2,394; in 1466-7 £2,462, and in the final year £2,393. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.
2. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 43, 114, 119 and 533. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 112 and 163. The Mowbray Duke apparently continued Herbert's farm of Swansea, Gower and Kilvey when he entered into his lands in March 1465. It seems likely that Norfolk's continuation of royal policy so far as his west Walian properties were concerned was not altogether a matter of choice. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 477.
3. This contrast between Herbert's estates expressed in the relative value of the liveries was basically that which obtained between the large and complexly-organized seigneuries and the much smaller properties of the Herbert patrimony.

case of the farmed properties, William was obviously securing a handsome profit if the proceeds of the mid-1460's are typical. Haverford was thus farmed for £66.13s.4d. a year, but the issues never fell below £130. In Swansea's case, the rent of £133 must have been easily met from proceeds which, at their lowest, stood at £227. From Newport, Herbert was getting a return of 4 or 5 to 1 on his £100 farm.

A much less-significant —but even so not unimportant— source of income were the lands in ward. In 1465-6 the Malefaunte lands contributed over £50 to the Receiver-General's total receipts: by 1468-9 the same lands were yielding over £65, while the proceeds of other escheated lands were included among liveries totalling over £30.

Of the omissions from the Receiver-General's accounts, the most notable were the barony of Dunster and Raglan-Mathenny. In Raglan's case this was probably the result of the lack of surplus cash available for payment to the Receiver-General. The Raglan Receiver's accounts for 1452-3 and 1461-4 reveal that this official's discharge was largely effected, not by the payment of cash to a superior receiving officer, but by allowances for running costs and expenditure on behalf of the Household.¹ Raglan's exception from the Receiver-General's account may however have been for theoretical, as well as purely practical, reasons. Wyesham-Monmouth also rarely had surplus cash to deliver for much the same reasons as obtained in Raglan's case; yet it was usual to list the property on the Receiver-General's account and record a nil return.² Raglan's exception from the account probably reflects its

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578, 1582 and 1584.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501 and 1502.

close organizational, as well as practical, links with the Household and its Steward.¹ But, whatever the reason for Raglan's omission, in terms of cash liveries the absence of the property was unlikely to have been significant.

The case of Raglan is important however, for it reveals one of the major drawbacks of a concentration on the cash emissions of the estates. Herbert was very far from being a rentier landlord: he and his dependents lived on the family estates, and, as a consequence, the functions of raising cash and kind and of utilizing both commodities became confused. Thus, Raglan, which was worth approximately £45² to Herbert in 1463-4, made no contribution to the cash in his coffers. The case of an entire property devoted to the maintenance of the Household represents an extreme; but Raglan was not unique in this respect. The revenues of nearby Wyesham-Monmouth were regularly consumed in their entirety by local costs and purchases on the Household's behalf. Thus, in 1461-2 the bailiff discharged £55: after allowance is made for defective and repaid rents about £38 is left, of which £32 had been spent on purchases for the lord's use.³

1. See Chapter 5, pp. 297 and 345.
2. Defective rents worth £3.12s. have been deducted from the total discharge. The figure of £45 still contains certain fixed charges, as well as the important payments for goods and services.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1581.

If Raglan and Wyesham were relatively rare in their almost total subordination to the Household's needs and those of the lord, there were few properties which did not experience some leakage of cash and kind before the time came to pay the cash surpluses to the superior receiving official.

The value of the estates to Herbert in terms of the produce he received from them is an imponderable. Although the ministerial accounts frequently indicate the existence of some seigneurial, agricultural activity, they rarely reveal any details as to the value or quantity of the goods produced.¹ We are slightly better off so far as the rents paid in kind are concerned: the accountant was responsible for the total value of these rents and would be careful to note any withdrawals on the Household's behalf. Thus, we learn of the 115 pigs forthcoming from the pannage which were not charged on the Machen forest account for 1465-6 because they had been sent to Raglan.² Although the accounts reveal only vague impressions of the quantity and value of the goods taken

1. Sales of those goods not required by the administration do show up on the ministerial accounts, but these entries are rarely helpful so far as the value of the total quantity produced is concerned. In 1480-81, for instance, the Raglan-Mathenny bailiff was charged with nearly £10 as the value of grains produced at Raglan, Mathenny and Penrhos during the preceding two years. It is very probable that the quantities of grain involved were merely those which had been sold, rather than the total production of the area. A similar 'foreign receipt' appears on the account of the following year, but the quantities quoted were considerably less and the amount charged under £4. In the end, all that can be deduced from these entries is the minimum level of production of the seigneurial lands of the area. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1589 and 1590.
2. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.

from the estates on the lord's behalf before there was any question of their monetary value being charged on a ministerial account, we ought to bear in mind this silent - but no doubt - important contribution to the general wealth of the lord.

So far as the cash leakages are concerned, we can be a little more precise. The losses from Wyesham and Raglan were certainly the most important during the 1460's. Central expenditure from the revenues of other properties was, on the other hand, only partial and generally not very significant. The Newport Receiver of 1465-6 was allowed £8 which he had paid for victuals delivered to Raglan, but this was an unimportant part of a discharge of several hundred pounds.¹ More significant was the sum of £13.6s.8d. spent by the Llanstephan farmers on freize cloth for delivery to the Constable of Tenby Castle, for the total discharge at Llanstephan only amounted to £49. In the same year - 1464-5 - the Cilgerran Receiver also purchased freize cloth for Tenby: in this case the cloth cost £5.6s.8d. and the total discharge was worth £68.² The Receiver of Walwyn's Castle discharged about £70 in 1463-4, the bulk of which he paid to the Receiver-General in the form of cash. Even here though, a small proportion of the issues was spent directly at the lord's bidding: the purser of Herbert's ship, 'The Mary', was thus paid 15s. by the lord's assignment as the value of steers purchased to victual the vessel.³ The Dunster Receiver's issues were similarly tapped in 1465-6 for the purchasing of victuals, but once again the sums

1. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1568.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1567.

involved were relatively insignificant.¹ All in all, it does not seem from the evidence available that the volume of central expenditure in the localities was very great in the 1460's, except at Raglan and Wyesham.

Certainly the accounts of the 1460's stand in marked contrast to those of the following decade in this respect. In 1475-6, for instance, the Pembroke Treasurer accounted for £672 of his charge, of which £367 had been spent by authorization of the Earl and dowager Countess. In addition to the sums of cash paid to the Earl, members of his family and their receiving officials, and certain local expenses of the less usual kind, we find several items of central expenditure. Thus, £90 had been paid to three London merchants on the Earl's behalf; £5 had been spent on a horse for the Marquess of Dorset, and - at the other extreme - a small reward given to a servant of the Earl of Northumberland's who had journeyed to Pembroke to fetch the 'new chronicle'.² Although we cannot be sure of the position so far as Crickhowell was concerned in the 1460's, by the late 1470's the Receiver's issues were being heavily used to finance the operations of the Household and to satisfy the Earl's creditors.³

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557. The Receiver was allowed over £3 for two pipes of mead, and £2.5s. for a draft paid to a Household official to provide wine for the Temple in London at Herbert's expence.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1569. Copies of Lydgate's 'The Siege of Thebes' and 'The Troy Book' which had belonged to the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke found their way into the Percy family through Maud Herbert, the wife of the 4th Earl of Northumberland. M.E. James, A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State: Henry, 5th. Earl of Northumberland, Borthwick Papers, no. 30, p. 35.
3. The high cash liveries recorded by the Receiver-General during the 1460's suggest however that direct exploitation of Crickhowell's revenues was not, at that time, very pronounced. The lowest sum received in the mid-1460's was £111.12s. In 1477-8 the Crickhowell Receiver discharged a total of nearly £134: of this sum Household officials received nearly £67; members of the Earl's family £23, and about £26 was paid to the Earl's creditors. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1503, 12, 1509 and 2610.

It is almost certainly no coincidence that the period of Herbert's greatest activity - and probably of his greatest need for ready cash - was also the time when most of his estates were subordinated for collecting purposes to one official, and that these years were characterized by a high level of cash production from the estates and - as its corollary - by a relatively low level of central expenditure in the localities.¹

In short, it would seem that we are unlikely to under-estimate Herbert's monetary income by very much if we add £100 a year to the Receiver-General's total to cover the value of the central expenditure of local revenues.²

We must now take account of the issues of the barony of Dunster, and with them of all the other sums of cash paid to the lord or officials other than the Receiver-General. Information relating to Dunster's value in cash terms is sparse for the 1460's. The Receiver's account for 1461-2 reveals that Herbert was paid £246 in installments between March 1461 and February 1463. Since Herbert encountered some opposition in his attempts to supersede the Lutterells, this rate of cash production - about £120 a year - was perhaps somewhat lower than the rate would have been in more normal times;³ and certainly by 1465-6 £166 was being paid over in cash by the Receiver.⁴ It would certainly not be over-estimating

1. Evidence for the assertion that the level of cash production was high in the 1460's will be found in Chapter 3 (Table VI) and in the appendix to this chapter.(Appendix II).
2. The bulk of this sum represents the value of the proceeds of Raglan and Wyesham-Monmouth.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1556.
4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1557.

to suggest that Dunster was worth £100 a year to Herbert in cash.¹

The accounts of the Receiver-General give a less than realistic view of the annual cash value of the lordship of Llandovery. In 1465-6 the Receiver paid his surplus cash to a receiver other than the Receiver-General, probably in fact to Herbert himself: £100-£20 of which had apparently been consumed by repair costs - was delivered to 'Lord Herbert's receipt^{sum}, for which/ an indenture under Herbert's signet was given.² However, during the following year £28 was paid to the Receiver-General, while in 1467-8 he received nearly £94 of the lordship's issues.³ Finally, in addition to the sum paid into Herbert's receipt in 1465-6, £20 had been paid by the lord's assignment to his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, the current Steward of the lordship.

Another lordship where the Receiver-General's control over cash surpluses may have been less than absolute was Newport, for in 1465-6, in addition to the liveries paid to that official, sums worth £21 had been paid into the lord's receipt.⁴

1. I have ignored the value of the 100 marks paid to Milewater in 1465-6, although this was a component of the £166 and thus represents part of the barony's cash value. The 100 marks was very probably compensated for by the taking of a correspondingly higher sum of cash from the property for which the rent was being paid.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1502 and 1503.
4. Newport Record Office, Ms. B/90/004.

It would thus seem that the income total for 1465-6 should be raised by about £120 to take account of the Llandovery and Newport items which by-passed the Receiver-General. It moreover seems reasonable to suppose that the Receiver-General's receipts of the following year lacked a major part of the Llandovery proceeds: the addition of around £70 would raise the cash production of the lordship to approximately the level which obtained in 1465-6 and in 1467-8.

It may be useful to pause here and review the state of Herbert's landed income:

Table XII Herbert's landed income in the mid-1460's

	<u>1465/6</u>	<u>1466/7</u>	<u>1467/8</u>
	£	£	£
Cash receipts from the estates recorded on the Receiver- General's accounts	2,394	2,462	2,393
Allowance for central expenditure of local issues: Raglan, Wyesham- Monmouth, etc.	100	100	100
Payments of) Dunster barony	100	100	100
cash to others) Llandovery	100	70(?)	-
than the) Newport	20	-	-
Receiver-)			
General)			
	<u>2,714</u>	<u>2,732</u>	<u>2,593</u>

It is probably neither advisable nor necessary to go any further in attempting to correct the picture the Receiver-General's accounts give us of Herbert's income from his estates. With the exception of those items already mentioned, the ministerial accounts from the 1460's do not suggest that sums paid directly to members of the family or to officials other than the Receiver-General were very important.

Herbert's income from land thus stood at about £2,600-£2,700 a year during the mid-1460's. By the date of his death, this income would almost certainly have been increased. Chepstow - a Mowbray property in the hands of the dowager Duchess of Norfolk - had been acquired by the beginning of 1469, and other estates gained as a result of the Woodville marriage of Lord Dunster in 1466.¹ It is not possible to say with any accuracy what these additional estates meant to Herbert in terms of cash. In 1482-3 the Countess Anne was receiving purchased goods and cash to the value of at least £126 from Chepstow, over and above the £40 annuity paid to the dowager Duchess of Norfolk.² Kilpeck, the reversion of which was granted to Lord Herbert as part of the settlement arising from the Woodville marriage, seems to have been worth about £50 to the dowager Countess in 1482-3; that is, about £10 more than

1. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 163. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 533. It is true that the gains as a result of the Woodville marriage were by no means absolute, for Herbert was under an obligation to settle properties of the barony of Dunster on the couple. On the other hand, it was agreed that the couple should reside with Lord Herbert for some years, and that the lands settled on the couple were to remain in his hands until his heir set up his own establishment. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 52-4.
2. It must however be pointed out that drafts from other properties worth £18 had been paid to one of Chepstow's officials to enable him to meet his heavy expenditure. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to accept an annual value of less than £100 for the lordship. According to the inquisition post mortem return of March 1470, the lordship was worth £20 after £80 had been paid to the Duchess of Norfolk. If the annuity to Katherine Neville was worth £80, the 1482-3 account undoubtedly exaggerates the lordship's value to the Countess Anne. On the other hand, the 1482-3 account-and the Gloucester inquest return - do not refer to the English members of Chepstow outside Gloucestershire and its March. In Henry VII's reign, the manors of Silchester (Hampshire) and Lackham (Wiltshire) were stated in inquest returns to be held of Sir Walter Herbert as parcels of his manor of Chepstow. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1510. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem; C.140, file 32. P.R.O. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer: Inquisitions Post Mortem (Series 1); E.149 file 222/10. Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, Vol. II, nos. 503-4.

the inquest return of 1470 states.¹

The cash value of the third of St. Briavel's ceded to the family in 1466 is less easily determined. However, in 1464 the Duke of Clarence was willing to pay an annual rent of £40 for St. Briavel's and the Forest of Dean, and it is probable that this grant took account of the fact that Jacquetta Woodville was holding one-third of the lordship as the widow of the Duke of Bedford. The value of Herbert's share of St. Briaval's was thus possibly about £20 - although this is not to say that he got this sum in cash from the property.²

In short then, Herbert's income from land in 1469 was almost certainly more than the £2,600 estimated for 1467/8, and very probably in excess of the figure of £2,700 calculated for the preceding year.

* * * * *

Lord Herbert's landed income was supplemented by the many fees and annuities he received. In theory, the Receiver-General was accountable for most of the baron's fees: in practice, only a small proportion of these payments passed through his hands. Thus, in 1465-6 only £89.13s.4d. was received, despite the fact that the fees listed on the account were worth over £500.³ Moreover, just as the proceeds from land were

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. 1510. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem; C. 140, file 32.
2. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 328-9. In the final year of Richard II's reign, St. Briavel's had yielded over £100 in cash. However, the fact that the property had been forfeited by Thomas Despenser decreases the comparative value of this information, already weakened by its distance from the 1460's: royal vengeance may have had the effect of inflating the cash issues above their normal rate. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1122/13.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501.

diminished en route to the Receiver-General, so the fees which did reach this official had often been partially spent. In 1467-8, for instance, the fees received from Ogmore, Goldcliff, Glamorgan, St. Fagan's and Caerleon had all been used in part before they reached the Receiver-General: arms and wool had been purchased; a carter paid for taking stone to Caerleon, and timber and other necessities provided for 'The Mary'.¹ These leakages from the fees are however considerably less difficult to deal with than those from the issues of land, for we are usually told: or can discover from another year's account - the full value of the fees affected in this way.

In some respects then, the information supplied by the Receiver-General's accounts concerning fees is more helpful than that which relates to the proceeds of the estates; the difference reflecting the contrast between a relatively fixed source of income and an essentially fluctuating one. This relatively precise information is however of limited advantage because (as we have already noticed) the bulk of the fees listed on the account were not paid to the Receiver-General. In all probability, the sums disclaimed by the Receiver-General were paid to Herbert by some other route, or were spent on his behalf. The total value of these sums is however too great for us to treat it as a part of the baron's total income without some attempt to determine whether in fact Herbert received the value of these fees.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1503.

The most important single total on that part of the Receiver-General's account which deals with fees is one of £255, forthcoming from the issues of the Southern Principality and owed to Herbert for the execution of his offices in South Wales. This sum was composed of a number of fees and rewards: William was owed £40 as Justiciar; £20 as Chamberlain; £5 as the Constable of Dinevor Castle; £6.13s.4d. as Steward of the Carmarthenshire commotes and £10 as the Steward of Cardiganshire, while rewards of £133.6s.8d. and £40 were payable to him as Justiciar and Chamberlain. Although these sums were not paid to the Receiver-General during the years between 1465 and 1468, their value was regularly received by Lord Herbert until 1466-7. In that year the fees of the Justiciar and Chamberlain were disallowed, apparently because of their non-payment: the remaining fees and rewards worth £195 had however been paid and were allowed to the Chamberlain. The following year all the arrears and current fees and rewards were allowed, with the single exception of the current fee of the Justiciar.¹ Moreover, one may doubt whether Herbert's income was much affected in practice by these disallowances: he was, after all, his own paymaster in this respect. The disallowances are probably more indicative of Exchequer attempts to control - or appear to control - government expenditure, than of the actual state of affairs in South Wales.² We would anyway seem to be justified in the belief that the bulk of these fees was paid during the current year, and that any arrears which did arise were speedily dealt with.

1. N.L.W. ^Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6.1224/6-9 and 1225/1-2.
2. The resumption acts of 1465 and 1467 may have stimulated the Exchequer into adopting a more rigorous attitude towards government expenditure, but it is also possible that the passing of the initial, crisis years of the reign allowed a more normal, critical attitude to reassert itself.

The next most valuable item on the Receiver-General's account was paid to Herbert as an official of the Earl of Warwick's lordship of Glamorgan: the sum of £46.13s.4d. being paid to the Receiver-General in 1465-6 for William's execution of the office of Sheriff. Although half of this fee was used to purchase wool in 1467-8, the remaining half-yearly installment was paid to the Receiver-General.¹ Warwick also owed Herbert fees for the Stewardship of his lordships of Abergavenny and Elvell, and the Receivership and Stewardship of his part of Ewyas Lacy. Of these fees - worth £34 a year in all - little can be discovered, beyond the fact that they were not paid to the Receiver-General between 1465 and 1468. It however seems reasonable to assume that these sums were paid as regularly as the more valuable Glamorgan fee.²

Some of Herbert's fees as an official of the Earldom of March appear on the Receiver-General's accounts. A fee worth £2 was thus regularly received - in cash or goods - from the town of Caerleon during the mid-1460's. Most of the other March fees noted on the account were however disclaimed by the Receiver-General. The £20 fee owed to the Steward of Usk eluded the official in all three years, while the fees attached to the offices of Steward of Dinas (£4), and Receiver and Steward of the king's part of Ewyas Lacy (£4) escaped the official in the first and third years: during 1466-7 however the full value of the Dinas fee was paid into the Receiver-General's hands.³ This appearance

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501 and 1503.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.

3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.

of the current Dinas fee on the 1466-7 account ought to warn us of the risk involved in jumping to the conclusion that the March fees were not being paid regularly.

So far as the Duchy of Lancaster fees are concerned, that from Ogmores - owed to Herbert as Steward of the lordship and worth 10 marks a year - was regularly paid. The Receiver-General accounted for its full value in 1465-6 and for half values in the succeeding two years, the unpaid portions having been dispensed en route. (In this case, we are also lucky enough to be able to verify the full payment of the fee in another year from the 1463-4 Ogmores Receiver's account.) The Receiver-General did not however receive fees worth £24 from another Duchy lordship, that of Monmouth. In this case too however we can fall back on surviving accounts for the lordship, which reveal the payment of the bulk of the £24 in the years 1462-3, 1464-5 and 1465-6: Hugh Hunteley, the Receiver of Monmouth, paid £20 a year to Herbert as the Steward and Constable of Monmouth, Whitecastle and Grosmont, and Steward of Skenfrith.¹

Early in Edward's reign, Herbert had been granted the office of Steward of Brecon, the Stafford lordship in the Crown's keeping during the minority of the Duke of Buckingham's heir. The fee for the performance of this office was worth £20 and was listed, but not received,

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts.; D.L. 29:593/9504 (Ogmores Receiver's acct.). P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accts.; D.L. 29:596/9559, & D.L. 29: 616/9881 and 9882 (Monmouth Receiver's accts.). It seems likely that the £24 noted on the Receiver-General's accounts included a small fee from the Prior of Monmouth. This ecclesiastic is missing from the account, although we can be fairly certain that he would have paid a fee to his powerful neighbour.

by the Receiver-General during the mid-1460's. Three surviving Receiver's accounts for the lordship however suggest that the fee was being regularly paid, at least during the early 1460's.¹

The majority of Herbert's fees which appear on the Receiver-General's accounts were owed by ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical corporations. The general impression given by the accounts is that no problem existed so far as the regular payment of these fees was concerned. Thus in 1465-6 the Receiver-General acknowledged receipt of fees totalling £28.6s. from the Bishop of Llandaff and the monastic houses of Ewenni, Goldcliff, Margam, Keynesham and Neath, and all of these payees reappear on the accounts of the following two years. Fees worth slightly more in total were not received from the Archdeacon of Llandaff, the Bishop of St. David's lands in Brecon, and the houses of Llanthony next to Gloucester, Chepstow, Tintern, Abergavenny, Grace Dieu, Llanthony in Wales and Brecon. There is however no reason to suppose that the value of these fees did not reach Lord Herbert, and two of the missing fees in fact appear among the receipts of the following year. As was the case with the Dinas fee, those received from the Llandaff Archdeacon and the Prior of Llanthony next to Gloucester in 1466-7 were in respect of the current year.²

Of the fees not so far dealt with, there are only two of any significance: £20 was payable to Herbert from the dowager-Duchess of

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 : 1157/9, 11 and 12. Lord Herbert was also receiving about £5 a year from another Stafford lordship, that of Hay: this sum included his own fee as Constable and the wages of his deputies in the offices of janitor, messor and forester. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1157/10.
2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1501, 1502 and 1503.

York's estates in Herefordshire, and 20 marks out of the dowager-Duchess of Norfolk's lordship of Chepstow as the fee of her Steward. In both these cases the Receiver-General's accounts merely register the fact that the sums were owed, and unfortunately their payment cannot be corroborated from other records.¹

In short, the 1465-6 Receiver-General's account lists fees worth £520, of which he acknowledged receipt of sums to the value of £90. Of the remaining £430, we can be reasonably certain that Herbert received the value of fees worth £295, issuing from the Southern Principality, Brecon and Monmouth. The evidence relating to the remaining fees is, in some cases at least, suggestive of payment. All in all, it would seem that the £520 represented an effective addition to Herbert's landed income.

The information supplied by the Receiver-General's accounts has however one other major flaw; it excludes some of the fees we know Herbert was owed. Some attempt must therefore be made to assess the value of these fees, and to try to determine whether they were in fact paid. A glance at the royal grants of office to Herbert reveals that the offices not mentioned on the accounts are of two main types: some of the baron's March offices were ignored, as were all of his offices in North Wales.

1. Fees worth £9 were not received from the Duchess of Suffolk's property of Wryncheston and West Barry, an estate of the Duchess of Somerset, because these lands were in Herbert's hands at farm: the fees were presumably included within the issues from these estates.

When Herbert was confirmed in his March and Neville offices in February 1460, they had included that of Constable of Usk Castle, and from September 1461 he was the Steward and Receiver of Clifford, Glasbury and Winforton. When many of his offices were confirmed to him in 1466, Lord Herbert appears as the Steward and Constable of Builth; the Constable of Dinas, Caerleon and Clifford; the Chief Forester of Usk and Caerleon, and the Master of the Hunt in the forests and parks of Usk and Caerleon and in Trelleck Chace. Finally, from August 1467 he was also the Steward and Constable of Denbigh and the Steward of Montgomery, Ceri and Cydewain.¹ None of these offices are mentioned on the Receiver-General's accounts.

With a few exceptions, it is possible to determine the value of the March fees not referred to by the Receiver-General, and even to suggest in some cases that payment was made. Thus, the 1467-8 valor of the lands of Edward IV as Earl of March reveals that Herbert was owed - and probably paid - about £77 for the execution of his official duties in Denbigh and Montgomery, Ceri and Cydewain.²

So far as the other fees are concerned, we have to rely for information on a valor of the 1440's, and it is consequently only possible to give the value of the remuneration attached to the offices in question, not the assurance, or probability, that Herbert received

1. C.P.R., (1452-61), p. 549. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 43 and 526.
C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 22.
2. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/66.

these sums. In 1442-3 the Builth Steward's fee and the Constable's wages were worth £8 and £3 respectively. The wages of the Clifford Constable were given as £4.11s. and the fees of his co-officers, the Steward of Clifford and Glasbury and the Clifford Receiver, as £3 and £1.13s.4d. Another of the offices which Herbert was to hold - that of Constable of Dinas - was, in the 1440's, combined with the parker's office, the two being worth just over £6. The office of Constable of Caerleon Castle was worth £5 a year to its holder: the remuneration of his fellow officer at Usk was unfortunately not mentioned on the valor. Other Usk and Caerleon offices held by Herbert in the 1460's were not referred to in 1443, although, of the offices granted to the baron in the forests, parks and chace of the area, the valor perhaps mentions one, the Master Forestership of Trelleck, which was worth just over £3.¹ In all, these additional March fees were worth about £112 to Herbert, if they were paid in full: the risk involved in this assumption is countered to some extent by the exclusion of certain of the fees from our survey. Of this £112 however, the bulk - about £77 - would only have affected the income of the years 1467-8 and 1468-9.

Herbert's offices in North Wales were granted to him by stages between June 1463 and April 1469. By the 1463 grant he was created Chief Justice of Merioneth and Constable of Harlech Castle: this grant was confirmed in October of the following year, when the Chamberlainship of Merioneth was added. In August 1467 Herbert was once again confirmed as Constable of Harlech, and given the Justiciarship of the whole Northern

1. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/818.

Principality. The following year saw the acquisition of the offices of Master-Forester of Snowdon and Constable of Conway Castle with the Captaincy of the town. Finally, a few months before his death, he received the office of Chamberlain of North Wales.¹

The grants relating to the Merioneth offices stipulated that Herbert was to receive £20 a year for the office of Chief Justice; this sum was to be deducted from the Earl of Worcester's fee as Chief Justice of the whole of North Wales. Whether Herbert received this fee remains something of a mystery. Certainly, no mention of the deduction from the Earl of Worcester's fee is to be found on the accounts of the Chamberlain of North Wales for 1464-5 and 1466-7.² As Chamberlain of Merioneth, William was granted a fee of £10 a year, but here again the Northern Principality Chamberlain's accounts reveal no evidence of payment, and Lord Hastings continued to receive his accustomed £20 fee as Chamberlain of the Principality.³ In this latter case however, it is probable that the £10 fee was taken by Herbert from the Merioneth issues; the 1464 grant suggests that this was to be the procedure. Unfortunately, none of Herbert's accounts as Chamberlain of Merioneth survive. So far as the £26.13s.4d. fee which went with the office of Constable of Harlech is concerned, we can be almost certain in the belief that it had little impact on the baron's income. In the first place, the Castle remained in enemy hands until 1468. Moreover, the accounts of the Chamberlain of

1. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 271 and 352. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 41, 113 and 154.

2. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1217/4 and 5.

3. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1217/4, 5 and 6.

North Wales indicate a complete failure to appreciate that the theoretical command of the Castle had been transferred from Roger Kynaston to Lord Herbert: the Constable was regularly recorded as Kynaston, his fee being as regularly disallowed because of the Castle's occupation by Lancastrian forces. It would be easy to completely overlook Herbert's tenure of the office if the Chamberlain's accounts were our only source of information: Kynaston appears, for example, on the 1468-9 account as the unpaid Constable of over eight years standing, just as though Herbert had never been.¹ The situation relating to the Merioneth fees was however possibly very different from the picture presented by the surviving accounts, and it is probable that Herbert secured his fee as Chamberlain (if not that of the accompanying judicial office) during the mid-1460's. On the other hand, the Harlech fee was almost certainly only of last-minute importance, if that.

The Chamberlain's accounts are however less unhelpful in respect of the baron's tenure of the Chief Justiciarship of the Northern Principality. Forty pounds were allowed on the 1467-8 account as paid to Herbert in part payment of his 200 marks fee for the period from August 1467 to Michaelmas 1468.² The account of the following year records the payment of over £105 as the bulk of the Earl's fee for 1467-8, and £66.13s.4d. as the current Easter installment. (The Michaelmas payment was not due because of the Earl's death in July). This sum of £172 was however disallowed because Herbert had secured its payment from local issues during his brief spell as Chamberlain between

1. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/636/10339.

2. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 /1217/6.

May and July 1469.¹ (This entry and its annotation illustrate the considerable potential advantage which the possession of an office concerned with the raising and transmission of cash conferred on its tenant.

The Earl of Pembroke had been quick to take advantage of his good-fortune and secured payment of his arrears and the current installment of his judicial fee: the Earl of Worcester, on the other hand, saw the year pass with no reduction made so far as his arrears of £260 were concerned. Just as influence on the inside could be critical in a man's dealings with the Exchequer, so possession of one of the financial way-stations on the route to Westminster could be as - perhaps even more - important .)

The 1468-9 Chamberlain's account reveals no evidence of the payment of fees to Herbert as the Master-Forester of Snowdon, and the Constable and Captain of Conway. Sir Henry Bolde, named as the incumbant of these offices on the Chamberlain's account, was apparently receiving £40 a year between 1467 and 1470 from the Conway bailiff as the Constable of Conway Castle. The £23 owed annually in respect of the other two offices was however disallowed as unpaid on the Chamberlain's account.² Here again one may doubt the accuracy of the accounts and their capacity to reflect a rapidly-changing situation. Although Herbert's tenure of these offices was relatively brief, it seems unlikely that he failed to secure some payment in respect of them. The Chamberlain's 1468-9 account, in fact, suggests the Earl's alacrity and success in these matters: thus,

1. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/636/10339.
2. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/636/10339. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/633/10318 and 10319. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1181/1.

although the offices of Constable and Captain of Caernarvon were in the hands of Sir Thomas Montgomery, Herbert occupied them between May and July 1469 and took his wages as Captain for 80 days, a period which, in the event, extended beyond his death. He was similarly compensated - probably at his own hands - for the wages of the soldiers in the Castle and town during the period of his occupation.

The Chamberlain's office was granted to the Earl so late in his life that its fee of £20 a year must have made very little difference to his total income, except, of course, in so far as it allowed him to secure the payment of his other North Walian fees. William, Lord Hastings, was back in office by the time the 1468-9 account was drawn up, and there is no indication on that account of any payment to Herbert as Chamberlain.¹

At best then, Herbert's North Walian fees added £30 to his total annual income during the mid-1460's. In addition, he received 200 marks in respect of 1467-8 and 100 marks during the following year as the Chief Justice of North Wales. The real value of the offices granted in the last year of the Earl's life remains obscure; but it seems highly likely that they made some contribution to Herbert's income.

1. Public Record Office, Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L. 29/636/10339.

Perhaps the simplest way to complete this survey of Herbert's income during the mid-and late-1460's is to review our conclusions in tabular form:-

Table XIII

Herbert's income during the mid-1460's

	May <u>1465-6</u>	May <u>1466-7</u>	May <u>1467-8</u>
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Income from
land, (as in
Table XII)

£2,714	£2,732	£2,593
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Annual values of
properties gained
post-1466

Chepstow	£20 - £40 ¹
Kilpeck	£40 - £50 ²
St. Briavel's	
(3)	£20?
	<u>£80 - £110</u>

Income from
fees and annuities
listed on the Receiver-
General's accts.

£520	£520	£520
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Additional March
fees:

Denbigh & Montgomery offices:

(post Aug.
'67) £77 p.a.

Others:	£35	£35	£35
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Additional fees -
N. Wales:

Chief Justice's fee

(post Aug.
'67) £133.6s.8d.
p.a.

<u>£3,295</u>	<u>£3,317</u>	<u>£3,178</u>
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* * * * *

1. To be on the safe side, I have deducted £80 as the Duchess of Norfolk's annuity.
2. Lord Herbert may not have possessed this lordship during his lifetime, only its reversion.

So far as we can tell then, Lord Herbert's income from land and fees exceeded £3,000 a year in the mid-1460's, and was probably nearer £3,500 a year by the time the Earl died. How did an income of this size compare with those of other 15th-century peers? Paradoxically, comparison of Herbert's income with those of his contemporaries is rendered somewhat difficult by our good fortune in possessing some accounts of his Receiver-General, which supply us with information concerning the value of the lord's actual receipts. In the case of most other 15th-century noble incomes however estimates have, of necessity, to be based upon valors, the only other group of estate records likely to give a comprehensive view of complex estates. It hardly needs to be repeated that the valor was essentially a statement of the income expected from land, after local (and sometimes other) charges had been met: in most cases these records do not supply information as to the amounts of cash actually received, or conversely of the amount of the expected income which was not raised - the arrears.¹ In short, we shall often be comparing dissimilar information, and there is a distinct risk of our over-valuing the incomes of the other peers. Nevertheless, if the figures are taken as rough approximations of noble wealth, they should serve to allow us to place Herbert financially among his fellows.

1. It is hard to generalize about the valor, and examples can be adduced which add details of the actual situation to the statement of potential income. For instance, the valor of Richard, Duke of York's lands in Wales and the Marches, based upon the accounts for 1442-43, adds the total of the arrears on the accounts at the beginning of the year to the clear value of the current year. The sum thus produced gives the total - as opposed to the annual - income expected by the Duke. Against this sum are set details of the discharges of 1442-3, and the document concludes with a list of those responsible for the undischarged proportion of the expected income. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C.11/818.

In general, the evidence would seem to suggest that Herbert's £3,000 a year represented the income of a prosperous peer of the middle rank. It is relatively easy to produce examples of noble incomes substantially greater than Herbert's. The total income enjoyed by Richard, Duke of York, has been estimated at well over £6,000 a year. In 1442-3 the Duke drew a cash income of £2,497 from his Welsh and Marcher estates alone, and this after local expenses and expenditure on wages, annuities and repairs at the area level (worth £1,316 in all) had been met.¹ Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was another peer who enjoyed an income markedly greater than William Herbert's. A valor of his English and Welsh lands for 1448-49 gives their total gross value as £6,300 and their clear value as £5,067.² The income of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was almost certainly another of those of the first rank. His father-in-law and predecessor as Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, had had an income of about £2,900 in 1420-21, according to an account of his Receiver-General: of this, about £2,600 came from land and the residue from fees and wages. These figures do not however do justice to the magnitude of the Earl's income, for they exclude some royal annuities, the sum of £329 received by the Countess from her own estates, and the value of some of his military commands and the profits of war, if any. The Earl's income was moreover dramatically increased by his marriage

1. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, 'The English Baronage and the Income Tax of 1436', (in) B.I.H.R. (1953), p. 14. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/818.
2. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, op.cit., pp. 6 and 15.

to Isabel Despenser in 1423, and it is reported that by the 1430's the potential value of the Earl's lands was £5,471. In Dr. Ross's opinion, Beauchamp, Stafford and Mortimer were the three richest, private landowners of their day in England.¹

At the other extreme of the noble class, there were families whose incomes were hardly enough to sustain their rank.² The lands and marriage of Elizabeth FitzWalter, the sole heiress of Walter, Lord FitzWalter, and later the wife of John Radcliffe, were sold in 1433 for the moderate sum of £533.³ In 1467 Herbert was granted the custody of the lands of the late Sir Richard Grey, Lord Powis, and the marriage of his heir for the same sum.⁴ The Greys of Ruthin, although relatively better off than FitzWalter and Powis, had an income which was considerably inferior to that enjoyed by Herbert at the height of his power. Dr. Jack has estimated that the value of Earl Edmund's total net income from land in 1467-8 was - admittedly at its lowest - £1,150.⁵ This may well be

1. C.D. Ross, The Estates and Finances of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, No. 12, pp. 14-15 and 18.
2. Individual members of relatively wealthy families could also fall into this group of impoverished peers. The endowments of widows might drastically decrease the value of the income of the nominal head of the family, as was the case so far as the last Mowbray Duke of Norfolk was concerned. In other cases, the rights of the first dowager were so extensive that subsequent widows received relatively slight endowments.
3. T.B. Pugh and C.D. Ross, op.cit., p. 19.
4. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 25. In this case however the sum paid may reflect political and strategic considerations, rather than the straight value of the properties involved.
5. R.I. Jack, op.cit., pp. 22-27.

an over-conservative estimate though, for by 1506-07 a valor of Richard Grey's lands was giving their total annual value as £1,394, after deductions for decayed and repaid rents.¹ The landed income of the Earl of Shrewsbury would seem to have exceeded that of his neighbours, the Greys of Ruthin. The clear annual value of all the Talbot lands in the mid-1430's has been estimated at around £1,500: this sum was however importantly augmented by the Earl's fees and annuities, which ran into several hundred pounds by the 1450's.²

Finally, we might mention two 15th-century peers whose incomes seem to have been in roughly the same class as Herbert's. A valor of the lands of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, compiled a few years before his death in 1455, indicates that the clear value of his estates was £2,263.³ Dr. Bean used valors and ministerial accounts to give an impression of the landed income of the third Earl of Northumberland: he estimated that the gross annual value of the Earl's estates in 1455 - the year of his father's death - was around £3,100.⁴

1. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 12/18/53.
2. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot, Lords Talbot and Earls of Shrewsbury in the Fifteenth Century', Bristol Ph.D. thesis (1968)
3. Their potential gross value was £3,020, of which £762 was consumed by fees, wages, repair costs and repayments of rent. Repairs accounted for the bulk of the reprises - a sum of £359 having been spent on the upkeep of Cromwell's palatial homes. Public Record Office, Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/822.
4. J.M.W. Bean, The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537, Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. 81-2.

These figures lead one to conclude that, while there were a number of peers with incomes much greater than the Earl of Pembroke's, they were probably fewer than those whose incomes were smaller than his. This is surely what one would have expected bearing in mind the Crown's largesse towards its Lieutenant in Wales, William's ability in turning potential income into actual receipts, and his own position as the founder of a noble house. This last point deserves a few words. As the first peer of his line, Herbert's total income was probably not much qualified by the effects of family settlements made by his predecessors, nor by the existence of one, or more, expensively-maintained dowagers. So far as his patrimony was concerned, his mother's death in the 1450's had probably removed one of the major qualifications on his enjoyment of the income from the family lands. (It is however probable that William had to recognize the rights of his brothers and half-brothers in this respect). Moreover, the bulk of his income in the 1460's came from properties granted and leased by Edward IV, which would not have been subject to family claims in his lifetime. By contrast, his son's inheritance was burdened with one dowager (the second Earl's mother, the Countess Anne), while that of his granddaughter may have had to maintain two (Anne and her daughter-in-law, Katherine Plantagenet), as well as an uncle reluctant to see family properties pass to a marriageable heiress.

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Although this chapter has been largely concerned with the assessment of the value of Lord Herbert's income, it has been necessary to introduce some discussion as to the baron's expenditure. The

expenditure in question was largely on behalf of the family and its Household, and reveals itself on estate accounts which were also concerned with recording the production and transmission of cash to the lord. But what became of the cash which was not used en route, and which disappears from our view into Herbert's coffers? Some was undoubtedly spent on the maintenance of the family's life and state, but a sizeable proportion of the baron's income may have been spent very rapidly on public business, notably on the financing of the war in Wales. The wealth - as opposed to the income - of the baron was thus likely to be tied-up ultimately with his success in securing the repayment of sums spent on Edward's behalf. This aspect of an official family's finances could be of critical importance, and the value of royal favour was sometimes heavily-qualified in the long run.¹ How then did Herbert fare in this respect?

Although he was placed in a situation where the need for cash was urgent, Herbert was also given direct access to some of the Crown sources of revenue. As Chamberlain of South Wales, William thus received a number of extra-ordinary allowances to cover his official expenses. It is often hard to distinguish between the allowances which compensated the baron for the use of his private resources and those which merely justified the Chamberlain's past use of Principality issues. In a sense, of course, the distinction makes no real difference; either way the baron was engaged in a struggle of some importance with the Exchequer. Neither repayment of private monies spent on public business, nor allowances in

1. For example, the Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury was promised £9,000 by the Crown towards his ransom (which was, after all, in some senses an expense incurred in his official capacity and on behalf of the Crown). The Crown's generosity was, in the event, greater than its ability to pay, and the Earl's executors were eventually forced to settle for £2,000 of the sum of £6,000 still outstanding. A.J. Pollard, 'The Family of Talbot'.

respect of public money spent, were automatic; both had to be sought. The evidence of the Chamberlain's accounts for the 1460's nevertheless suggests that in neither case was Herbert made to wait for long.

In January 1462 Edward issued a writ under the Privy Seal authorizing the payment of 200 marks as a special reward to Lord Herbert to cover the costs he had incurred in putting down rebels in west Wales: this sum had apparently been paid by the time the 1461-62 account was drawn up. Herbert also claimed nearly £30 on the account of that year for his additional expenses at the Carmarthen sessions, as well as the costs which Sir Richard Herbert and others had incurred in bringing the sons of Griffith ap Nicholas to heel.¹ These items were respited by the Auditors, but were allowed on the account of the following year, a writ under the Privy Seal having been secured in June 1463. William had also borne heavy expenses in the winter of 1462, when he was with the king in the north of England, and he sought allowance on his 1462-63 account for the sum of £400 which had been granted by Edward IV to cover his costs in this respect.² Here again, the sum was respited because the Auditors had received no warrant for its allowance, but they - or possibly Herbert - had apparently been satisfied by 1464-65, for the account of that year makes no mention of the sum.³ The 1466-67 account

1. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1224/6.

2. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1224/7.

3. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1224/8
There is a possibility that the £400 were paid from another source; the evidence for this suggestion is discussed below, pp. 428-9.

also reveals the fairly rapid allowance, or repayment, of the Chamberlain's costs. By a royal warrant of November 1467, Herbert was allowed £20 for the capture of a servant of Margaret of Anjou and the 20 marks that he had paid as a reward to a Bristol man for the acquisition of some of that queen's jewels. Another warrant of the same date cleared the retention by the Chamberlain of nearly 150 marks towards the maintenance of Lord Percy, who had been in Herbert's charge since April 1466.¹ The final account we possess from the period of Herbert's tenure is for the year 1467-8 and bears an allowance of 100 marks for Lord Percy's board during that year.² So far as we can tell then from the special allowances made to Herbert as Chamberlain of South Wales, his expenditure of public or private monies was allowed or refunded without much delay.

The issues of Crown, Duchy of Lancaster, Mortimer and escheated estates in Wales and the Marches were an obvious source of repayment to Herbert, and the accounts of John Milewater, the Receiver-General of this complex of estates, reveal a number of such payments to the baron.³ Here again, repayment seems to have followed relatively quickly upon the issue of a royal warrant. On the account for 1461-63, £400 was allowed as paid to Lord Herbert by authorization of a warrant dated at Durham

1. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6, 1225/1.
2. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6, 1225/2.
3. The closeness of the official relationship between Milewater and Herbert is revealed by the Brecon Receiver's account of 1461-3: one of Thomas ap Rosser Vachan's liveries to the Receiver-General was receipted at Raglan. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1157/9.

in December 1462. (It may thus be that the baron's expenses in the North were met from this source, rather than from Carmarthen, which would account for the disappearance of the item from the Chamberlain's account).¹ During 1464-65 Milewater made two more payments to Lord Herbert, each worth £200 and authorized by warrants of the Summer of 1464.² The revenues for which Milewater was responsible were tapped, like those of South Wales, to remunerate Herbert for the custody of Lord Percy: on the 1467-8 account Herbert's farm of 100 marks for Haverford was allowed to him to help with this expenditure. (The South Wales Chamberlain's account of 1466-67 indicates that the Haverford farm had been allowed for the same reason in that year, too).³

The accounts of the Chamberlain of South Wales and the royal Receiver-General would thus seem to indicate that Herbert was experiencing no real difficulties in obtaining allowance for, or repayment of, his public expenditure. Moreover, where there were hitches in the process of allowance, the baron seems to have been able to secure the appropriate writ from the king without undue delay.

1. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1305/15. Milewater had also paid William 100 marks as the value of cattle delivered to the king's Household, the warrant in this case being dated at Pontefract in November 1463. Herbert was similarly paid £78 on Milewater's account for 1464-5 for 140 head of cattle delivered to the Household, while £58 was allowed to him as Chamberlain of South Wales on his 1465-66 account as the price of 100 beasts purchased by the king for the victualling of one of his ships. While there may be some question as to the ownership of the cattle in the last case, it seems fairly certain that the other beasts were Herbert's. As the lord of extensive parklands, located for the most part in areas heavily dependent upon livestock farming, William must have been a fairly obvious choice as a supplier of the royal Household. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1236/9 and 1224/9.
2. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1236/9.
3. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6, 1236/11 and 1225/1.

Herbert's finances were, without a doubt, under most pressure during the middle years of the decade, when a determined effort was being made to eradicate Lancastrian opposition in North Wales. The evidence relating to this phase of Herbert's financial relationship with the Crown comes almost exclusively from central government records, in contrast to the local sources of our knowledge about the relationship during the preceding years.

Although Herbert was forced to spend his own resources on the king's behalf, he did receive some drafts from the Crown towards the financing of the operations which culminated in the reduction of Harlech Castle. The Issue Roll for the Easter term of 1466 records that John Milewater had paid £10 to Lord Herbert and that this sum was part of £2,000 which the king had ordered to be delivered to the baron for the costs of the Harlech siege.¹ The next reference to Lord Herbert's expenses about Harlech is found on a warrant directed to the Exchequer early in 1468 informing the officials there of payments made from Crown revenues outside the control of the Exchequer: among those which the Treasurer and Chamberlains were ordered to enter on their records was one of £5 made to Lord Herbert for his costs in North Wales.² By another royal warrant, dated the 8th June, the Exchequer officials were directed to make assignments to the value of 2,000 marks on the first and second parts of a recently-granted tenth: this sum had been granted to Lord Herbert for the expenses of the Harlech siege. (The same warrant also commanded the repayment of Dame Alice Wyche, who had delivered a loan of 1,000 marks

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Issue Rolls; E. 403/836. A search of the assignments recorded on the Receipt Rolls for 1466 reveals no further traces of this sum of £2,000. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/889-891.
2. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Writs and Warrants for Issues; E.404/73/3/92.

to Herbert to help him finance his operations.)¹ The sum of £1,333.6s.8d. was accordingly assigned to Lord Herbert on the 10th July against the proceeds of the clerical taxation: the assignment would seem to have been successful for the entry on the Receipt Roll is unamended.²

The royal contribution to the expenses of the campaign was not however anywhere near sufficient, and Herbert and his allies spent heavily of their own resources on the king's behalf. Following the reduction of the fortress in the Summer of 1468, the business of repaying the Earl of Pembroke was stepped-up. A warrant issued on the 27th October directed the Exchequer officials to record a loan of £20 from the Earl and to give him an assignment on the issues of the exchange in the Tower: the assignment of this sum was duly made on the 3rd November.³ Exactly a month later, a detailed warrant was issued relating to the total cost of reducing Harlech. The Earl was said to have spent £5,521 of his own goods and those of his allies, in addition to the sums which he and his supporters were content to meet themselves. The warrant goes on to describe the measures already taken to reduce this debt of the Crown's, reference being made to the 2,000 marks assigned in July, the £20 assignment made in November, and a sum of £1,000 paid

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Writs and Warrants for Issues; E.404/74/1/35.
2. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/892.
3. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Writs and Warrants for Issues; E.404/74/1/104. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893. The sum was recorded as a loan of the 21st October.

to Herbert by the king.¹ After rehearsing these details, the warrant ordered that assignments be made to clear the unpaid portion of the debt - a sum of £3,168. As a consequence of this order nearly £2,717 was assigned to Pembroke on the 9th December, and a further £441 on the 18th January, 1469.

Herbert was to receive the value of £2,717 as the consequence of a very complicated settlement of lands, in which the king and the Duke of Norfolk were also involved. By a number of grants made since March 1462,

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Writs and Warrants for Issues; E.404/74/1/129. The £1,000 paid to Herbert had consisted of two payments: on the first occasion the baron had received the 1,000 marks lent by Dame Alice Wyche, and on the second 500 marks which had belonged to Sir Thomas Cook of London. Cook had been implicated in the treason scare of 1468, and, despite the fact that a City jury refused to convict him of the more serious charges levelled against him, was made to pay heavily for his freedom. During one of his periods of arrest, the wealthy mercer's town and country houses were pillaged by Earl Rivers, the Treasurer, and the Household Treasurer, John Fogge. A royal pardon was issued in July; but Cook was deprived of his aldermanry by the king's command in November and forced to pay Edward £8,000 for his freedom. As a final injury, Elizabeth Woodville claimed an additional sum as 'queen's gold'. C.L. Scofield, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 454 -5 and 459-62

Edward had placed the properties forfeited by William, Lord Beaumont, in the hands of feoffees to the use of Joan, the wife of Sir William and daughter to the late Duke of Buckingham.¹ In September 1467 the remainders of some of these properties were confirmed to the heirs of Joan.² On the 6th December the reversions of the other Beaumont properties were granted to the Earl of Pembroke and a number of feoffees to his use: their estate in the properties was to become effective on Joan's death and was to endure during the lives of Katherine and Eleanor, dowager Duchesses of Norfolk.³ The interest of Katherine Neville, the widow of John Mowbray, second Duke of Norfolk (d.1432), is to be explained by the fact that she was also the widow of John, Viscount Beaumont, her third husband: that of Eleanor Bouchier, the widow of the third Mowbray Duke (d.1461), was possibly the result of an exchange of some of her Mowbray dower properties for Beaumont interests belonging to her fellow-dowager and mother-in-law, Katherine. The relatively favourable attitude adopted by the Crown towards Joan Beaumont may have adversely affected the interests of Katherine Neville and, through her, those of her daughter-in-law, Eleanor, for both ladies were enjoying the revenues of Crown properties in 1468 which had perhaps been granted to them as compensation. Eleanor thus had an interest in ^{the} Duchy of Lancaster property

1. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 179 and 355. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 34, 117 and 132.
2. The properties were Stow Bardolph, Roughton and 'Fareswell', Whinburgh and Mattishall - all in Norfolk. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 34.
3. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 132. Cantley and the other properties which were to be held during Katherine's life lay in Norfolk and Suffolk; those in which Eleanor Bouchier had an interest in Lincolnshire.

of Wycombe (Buckinghamshire), while Katherine held the Duchy manors of Grendon (Bucks), and Haseley and Pirton (Oxfordshire). By the assignment of the 9th December, Herbert was to retain the 200 marks he would otherwise have paid for the reversion of the Beaumont lands during the lives of Katherine and Eleanor. The ultimate reversion of these lands had been sold to John, Duke of Norfolk, and the sum of £2,050 which he owed for the grant was also assigned to Pembroke.¹ By Duchy of Lancaster letters-patent dated 1st December, Herbert and his co-feoffees had also been granted the Duchy properties in the dowagers' hands, to be held during the ladies' lives: the allowance of the price of this grant decreased the Crown's debt to Herbert by a further 400 marks. In this case too, the reversion of the properties had been sold to the Duke of Norfolk, who was to hold the manors following the dowagers' deaths and during the lifetime of Joan Beaumont. The Duke owed 400 marks for his part of the grant, which sum was also assigned to the payment of the Earl of Pembroke's debt.²

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893.
2. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893. It is hard to regard some aspects of this settlement as anything but a gamble. The grant to the Earl in respect of the Beaumont lands thus depended on the death of Joan Beaumont before those of Katherine and Eleanor, but the probability of this happening seems - at this remove - rather slight. Katherine Neville married her first husband in 1411/12, while Eleanor Bouchier was married by late 1420's: Joan's marriage on the other hand was as recent as the 1450's or early 1460's. The grants to Herbert and Mowbray relating to the Duchy properties seem to have been a little more realistic. In the event, Joan and Katherine both survived into Richard III's reign, while Eleanor died in 1474.

The assignment of the 18th January was also financed - to a lesser extent, it is true - by the allowance of sums owed to the Crown as a result of the Mowbray-Herbert land settlement. Thus, the £5 which the Earl of Pembroke owed for a licence to agree with John, Duke of Norfolk, and Elizabeth, his wife, concerning the lordships of Chepstow, Berton and Tidenham was released to him. Similarly, the sum of £15 owed for a licence in the case of the Mowbray lordships of Swansea, Gower and Kilvey was assigned towards the reduction of the Crown's debt to the Earl.¹ The bulk of the January assignment - a sum of £417 - was however payable by the Earl himself, as Chamberlain of South Wales. It is unfortunate that the Chamberlain's account for 1468-9 has not survived: on the evidence of those which have however, it would seem highly improbable that the Earl did not secure payment.²

The entries on the Receipt Roll for the Michaelmas term of 1468/9 suggest - as does the absence of any further mention of the family among the assignees on the Receipt Rolls of the succeeding terms³ - that Herbert obtained the value of the assignments of December and January in full. This is not surprising given the nature of the items assigned. That part of the debt which was to be liquidated by the allowance of the Earl's debts at the Exchequer was assured from the moment

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893
2. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893.
3. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/894-97.

of assignment.¹ We can be almost as certain that Herbert received the sum to be taken from the issues of South Wales. As for the transferred debts of John Mowbray, it seems very unlikely that there was any real intention of transferring cash to Herbert. The major part of the Crown's Harlech debt, which the Duke of Norfolk assumed in return for the grants of 1467-8, was probably used as a makeweight to facilitate the permanent transference of the Mowbray properties in south Wales to the Earl of Pembroke. This transfer had been effected by May 1469, when the king confirmed the estate of Herbert and his heirs in Chepstow, Swansea, Gower and Kilvey.²

Although it is probable that the Crown discharged its obligation to Herbert in respect of the cost of bringing North Wales to heel, it is also likely that the Earl died as a creditor of the king's. The Earl's will, drawn up in July 1469, refers to sums of £4,000 and 4,000 marks which William was carrying to the king as a loan, as well as to monies that 'I have spent afore to the said journey'.³ The 1473-4 account of the Chamberlain of South Wales also suggests that the Crown was still obliged to the late Earl's family. The arrears sums listed at the end of the account include one of £35, taken by the Countess Anne in part payment of a warrant issued by the king.⁴ More importantly, Edward ordered the

1. What, of course, is less certain is that Herbert was given control of the manors granted to him, if indeed this had ever been intended.
2. C.P.R., (1467-77), p. 163.
3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-58.
4. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1225/4. The treatment of this sum as an arrears one was apparently the consequence of the Prince of Wales' entry shortly after Anne had obtained payment.

Exchequer officials to assign judicial profits worth £1,966.13s.4d.

'unto our entirely beloved cousin Anne, Countess of Pembroke' in November 1474.¹ The assignment of this sum duly appears on the Receipt Roll, although not until the following August.²

The family's financial relationship with the Crown was allegedly revolutionized in the 1470's; from being the creditor of the Crown, it became indebted to the Yorkist monarchy. The agreement relating to the exchange of properties between the second Earl and the Prince of Wales thus states that this was done, in part, 'for the contentation and satisfaction of great and notable sums of money, due by the said Earl ... unto the said Prince.'³ A search of Duchy of Lancaster and South Walian records has however revealed little trace of this indebtedness. A South Wales arrears account records that the second Herbert Earl of Pembroke owed £1,441 at Michaelmas 1478 as Chamberlain: this sum was however almost totally composed of monies retained by the Earl for his fees, which were worth £240 a year and had not been allowed for six years.⁴

1. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Writs and Warrants for Issues; E.404/73/3/92.
2. Public Record Office, Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt; Receipt Rolls; E.401/920. The unamended nature of the entry leads one to assume that the value of this substantial sum was received by the dowager Countess.
3. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, p. 203.
4. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1210/6.

It is hard to see how the Crown could regard arrears of this nature as debts, yet a bill attached to this account suggests that the unallowed fees of the second Earl were the 'great and notable sums of money' referred to in 1482. The bill states that the Prince, by order of the king, with the assent of his mother and the advice of the noble lords and others of his council, has released to the Earl of Pembroke all his rights to monies owed prior to March 1479. The wording of this instrument seems to indicate a relationship with the parliamentary settlement of 1482, while its attachment to this particular arrears account suggests that the release refers exclusively to the debts mentioned on the roll.

The contrast between the 1460's and the 1470's would thus seem to have been as strong in the financial sphere as in all others. The Chamberlain's office had been a source of income and repayment to the first Earl: its profitability to the second was apparently qualified by his declining political status. The second Earl not only failed to secure the allowance of his fees, but may also have had to witness the use of his debt in this respect as a lever to remove him from his inherited position in west Wales.

* * * * *

This survey of the first Earl's financial relationship with the Crown would thus seem to indicate that the family's wealth was probably augmented, rather than wasted, by the need to spend on the king's behalf. Once again, the importance of the control of the Crown's sources of income is demonstrated: as Chamberlain of South Wales, Herbert was clearly

well on the way to securing the repayment of those items which were assigned against the issues of the Southern Principality. But of paramount importance was the Earl's influence with the king: this it was which, in the end, enabled Herbert to navigate the tricky channels of government finance. After his death, the withdrawal of royal interest in the family gave rise to the difficulties encountered by the second Earl in his financial relationship with the government departments.

Chapter VIII: The Lordship of Raglan

It is appropriate that the state and development of Raglan, the head of the Herbert estates, should be sufficiently documented for us to look at it as a particular example of a late-medieval, Marcher lordship. In addition to a number of ministerial accounts, one dating from the late-14th century and the rest from the mid-15th, there are also three rentals for the manor, prepared in 1354, 1364-5 and 1436-7. Although these records vary in their form and viewpoint, and are very few relative to the many years for which we know nothing, they do allow us to determine certain of the manor's general features.

* * * * *

In 1354 the manor had about 190 tenants, whose money rents amounted to nearly £23.¹

The free tenantry numbered about 40 and included several members of the seigneurial family, the Bluets. Some of these tenants owed only nominal rents to the lord, like Roland Bluet who held land for a chaplet of roses payable in June.

Others held by a form of chivalric tenure. Thus, Howell ap William Gough owed no money rent for his land, but was liable for scutage and had a duty to follow his lord in time of war for 2d. a day. The lord could also demand aids from Howell, when he first entered Raglan, when he made his eldest son a knight, and when he married off his eldest daughter.

1. These details and those which follow are taken from the rental of 1354. I have tried to allow for the effect of names appearing more than once, both within and between the main categories of the rental. P.R.O. Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys; S.C. 11/970.

Howell's tenure however differed from the classical chivalric tenure in that he owed a heriot, rather than a relief. He had to attend court three times a year, and had an obligation to attend other courts on sufficient summons. Beyond a certain limit, he also became liable for a toll on his brewing. Some tenants held land on the same conditions as Howell but also paid money rents, while additional services were demanded of certain tenants. David ap Stevens, for instance, held $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres by payment of a money rent and the other dues and services of Howell's tenure, but he was also specifically charged with the duty of providing the lord's attorney for the courts at Usk each year at his own cost. By no means all of the free tenants held by this chivalric tenure, which, it has been suggested, was the result of the partial transformation of the tenure of Celtic demesne tenants by Anglo-Norman lords.¹

In addition to the nominal rent-payers, there were tenants who owed small sums for plots of free land, and men like Rawlyn ap Roland, who paid a money rent for all services except relief and suit of court. The total money-value of the free rents was not very great at just over £2, and of the 30 tenants who owed money rents, only 11 owed 2s. or more and only two over 5s.

About 60 of the Raglan tenants held burgage properties or paid a cense for the right to trade: some tenants were liable on both counts which suggests that the right to trade was not attached to burgage

1. Wm. Rees, South Wales and the March, Oxford 1924, pp. 145-6 and 201.

properties, or not to all of them.¹ The burgage properties were in the main rented for 1s., although there were burgages let for 8d. and also small, non-burghal plots under this head. The burgesses were liable to the assize of ale, whereby the lord had the right to purchase ale offered for sale at 1d. for the first gallon and $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for subsequent gallons. Of these tenants, the majority owed rents of 1s. or less, only 10 were liable for more than 2s. and none owed 5s. In total, their rents contributed about £3.12s. to the total rent-roll.

By far the most significant numerically and for the value of their rents were the unfree tenants. There were approximately 120 bond tenants at Raglan in 1354 and their money rents accounted for £16.10s. of the £23 total. The unfree tenant owed a mixture of monetary rents and works in the mid-14th. century. Ievan ap David ap Ievan's rents and services were fully detailed on the rental to illustrate the obligations of others of the tenantry whose dues were more summarily recorded. In addition to a money rent payable in March and September, Ievan owed another rent called "Kyllich", a commuted maintenance render dating back to Raglan's Celtic past - in May and August.² As an unfree tenant, he was also bound to help the lord cultivate the demesne lands. He was thus to provide, or contribute to, an ox-team to plough in Winter and Lent for 1d. a day. In the Autumn he was to reap the lord's corn, the lord providing food for 'one meal a day'.³ During the thirteen weeks between May 1st and

1. The chensers are listed separately from the burgesses: all eight owed 6d. at Michaelmas, presumably for mercantile rights - although Ievan ap Ivor, who paid 1s. to the lord for the right to sell, was listed among the burgage tenants.
2. Wm. Rees, op cit., pp. 10-12.
3. The number of works owed varied according to the amount of land held. Thus, one tenant with 38 acres owed 9 days reaping and 4 days ploughing; another tenement of $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres was charged with 3 days reaping and 2 days ploughing, and one of 2 acres with 12 days weeding until 3 o'clock. Weeding-works were usually associated with small holdings and were never owed by the larger tenants.

August 1st, Ievan had to appear with an ox each Tuesday for hauling work within the manor. The carriage of millstones and cleaning of the mill's ~~stank~~ were other duties performed by the unfree. Then, Ievan might have to serve as reeve, although the burdens of this office were, to some extent, mitigated by the allowances made on this account. The lord's rights over the woods and waste of the manor entitled him to a pannage due on Ievan's pigs each November, or the retention of one animal if the tenant had seven or more. The seigneurial interest in the bondsman's family is reflected in the fines levied for the fornication of a daughter, or her marriage to a free man of the manor or a man of another lordship, and by the lord's right to license the entry of a son into the Church. When Ievan sold any of his stock, the lord's rights in his property had to be bought out by the payment of tolls, and when he died the lord was entitled to the best beast or 5s. as a heriot.¹ Finally, Ievan's son would have to pay a fine before his entry into his father's holdings.

Not all of the unfree tenants held land on precisely these terms;² nor were the various holdings of a tenant always held by similar tenurial conditions. Past and present bargains pushed and pulled the conditions of tenure into a wide variety of forms. The smallholders of the manor - 'the cottars' - are a case in point. The twelve cottars of 1354 owed a mere 6d. in rent, the majority paying no monetary rent

1. In place of either of these, the lord might take all the tenant's pigs or all his goats or all his bee-hives. The lord apparently had no choice insofar as secondary tenements were concerned and had to take the monetary heriot of 5s.
2. The Raglan account of 1397-8 reveals, for instance, that only 33 of the villeins owed carrying services. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1573.

at all. The main consideration for their holdings was their labour. Ploughing was obviously inappropriate in the case of these small tenants and so they were charged with reaping-and weeding-works. The land which had come into their hands was probably of heterogeneous origin, and one tenant who held two places owed a heriot on one and a relief on the other.

Among the ranks of the unfree on the rental, we find men holding free land and land newly assarted for which no labour services were due. For some small plots, on the other hand, labour services rather than money rents seem to have been owed, while, in at least one case, a tenant holding no land owed Kyllch to the lord.

Of the 125 unfree tenants - including the four rent-paying cottars - about 45 owed rents of less than 2s., 52 rents over 2s. but below 5s., and 28 rents of 5s. and more. But unfree tenants held free land (in addition to those plots listed under the 'unfree' heading) and burgage properties: the addition of these rents reduces the lowest category of rent-payers to 41, the 2s.-5s. group to 50, and increases the top bracket by 6 to 34.¹ While there were clearly tenants who were more prosperous than many of their fellows, there would thus not seem to have been much development towards the oligarchical situation sometimes looked upon as a characteristic of late-medieval manors.

1. The neat categories of 'free' and 'unfree' were already becoming confused in certain cases. Thus, Wenllian, the daughter of Griffith ap David Gough, was the joint tenant of bond land charged at 1s.5d. a year plus ploughing-and reaping-services, and the sole tenant of land held for 2s.3d. and works. She also appears among the free tenants as the joint and sole tenant of lands worth 3s.6d. a year, of which at least one acre was held by charter. Wenllian's holdings also included part of a burgage, and she appears among the chensers listed on the rental.

The situation a decade later was somewhat changed, which was perhaps the reason why a fresh rental was prepared.¹ The unfree tenants had apparently declined in number to about 110. At the same time, the proportion of tenants paying high rents had fallen markedly: making allowance for the free holdings of these tenants, we find that 46 tenants owed less than 2s., 44 between 2s. and 5s., and only 18 rents of more than 5s.²

A further change concerns the works due from the unfree tenants and cottars. According to the 1354 rental, about 290 ploughing, 480 reaping and 51 weeding work-days were owed by these tenants; that of a decade later does not mention ploughing-works, but refers to 36 weeding and 513 reaping work-days.

The number of free and burgage tenants ^{es} do not seem to have altered greatly during the decade. In 1354 there were about 93 of these tenants: by 1364-5 there were approximately 80, excluding the nominal rent-payers included in the earlier total.

The nature of the change which had occurred between 1354 and 1364 is difficult to evaluate, and is not made any easier by the fact that the total value of the money rents was almost the same in both years. It would however seem that the manor's population had fallen slightly, and that there were fewer tenants paying high rents by 1364. The alteration in the number of works owed is perhaps to be explained

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1611. Parts of this document are in a poor condition and consequently the information it gives is not quite complete.
2. It is perhaps significant that these 18 tenants included a number of brothers; Griffith ap David Wyth and his brother, Hoell, and Meurig and Ioruerth ap Ievan Vaughan. Cradoc Wyth was moreover another of these prosperous villein tenants.

by a decline in the number of small-holders (and thus in the number of weeding-works owed) and a relative increase in the numbers of middling tenants (and the reaping-works due). Certainly, there were fewer tenants owing rents of less than 5d. in 1364 than there had been a decade earlier.¹

By 1364 at least some of the demesne was being farmed. Thus, no sum was entered against the name of one of the free tenants on the rental because his rent was included in the farm of the demesne land under the name of another tenant. In other cases sums had been entered but scored through for the same reason. (It is worth noting in this context that the 1354 rental specifically notes the total value of the hauling-works as a sub-total in the foot of the document).

The rental of 1364-5 was still in use in 1397-8, for which year an account, rendered by the Receiver, messor and reeve of Raglan, survives

1. The impact of the Black Death on Raglan is very difficult to assess. Professor Rees may well be correct in viewing the new rental of 1354 as an effect of a crisis in the manor's economy. The appearance of yet another rental in 1364-5 is similarly suggestive of change; but the details of that record, when compared with the earlier rental, do not corroborate such a theory. Raglan undoubtedly suffered as a result of the waves of plague - and at the beginning of the 15th. century rents worth nearly £1 were decayed for this reason. On the other hand, there were signs of vigour - even of growth - in the late-14th. century, and it is at least possible that Raglan was not as badly hit as some of its neighbours. Wm. Rees, op.cit., pp. 243 and 247.

in the Badminton collection of manorial records.¹

Of the current charge of nearly £60, about half was expected from rents of various kinds. In addition to the £23 owed by the free and unfree tenants according to the rental of 1364, there were many 'new rents' on the account which added a further £2 to the rent charge. A large number of these additional items were in respect of land newly assarted.² While many of these new rents were insignificant, some represented quite valuable increments to the total rent-roll. Assarting may have been resorted to by the lord at Raglan in the late-14th. century in an attempt to boost his income from land; it was however far from a

1. The Receiver was responsible for the collection of the bulk of the tenants' rents, the mill farm and the court perquisites. He possibly collected the majority of the demesne farms, too, and shared in the payment of the manorial expenses: in 1397-8 he was allowed sums for work done in the park and the payment of most of the fees and wages. The reeve collected certain of the rents, was responsible for the sale of works and stock, and also answered for some of the demesne properties. He paid the stipends of men working on the manor's properties, and bore the costs of the hay harvest and repair work to the manor and the mill. The motley 'Household Expenses' were also his. The messor was primarily an agricultural officer. He was responsible for raising the proceeds of pannage, agistment and the sale of wood, and may have shared responsibility for the mill's maintenance and equipment with the reeve. Although he is not mentioned in this connexion, the messor was almost certainly involved in the hay-making. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1573.
2. Of the 34 items, 21 mention 'new assarts' and one an 'assart', while others suggest by the location of the property - in 'coid Raglan', for instance - that assarted land was involved. The bulk of these leases of assarted land seem to have had their origin about 7 years prior to 1397-8: of the 22 assart leases, 10 were in their 7th. year, 3 in their 8th, 2 in their 9th, 1 in its 12th, and 1 in its 13th. There were two very recent leases.

novelty on the manor. The rental of 1354 refers on a number of occasions to new assarts, and the sum of rents from such land was specifically detailed in the foot of the record. The expansion of the tillage was thus a development of the first, as well as the second, half of the 14th. century.

The new rents included a few items in respect of demesne property, but the bulk of these leases appear under separate heads. 'Tyr Rhiw-las' was thus leased to a number of the manorial tenants for £1.15s., while the farms of the demesne arable, meadow and pastures were expected to yield well over £5. (Demesne land in Gwernhethik field was not leased because of a lack of farmers; but arrangements had been made to let the property to various tenants for their lives).¹

The corollary of the leasing of the demesne - or a large part of it - was the sale of the works owed by the customary tenants. The reaping-works owed by the unfree had decreased slightly since the 1360's and only 510 remained to be sold. An allowance of a bond rent on the discharge side of the account explains the loss of these works: the land had been re-rented for a money rent which covered all services, including the three reaping-works. Although this small decrease is insignificant in itself, it is interesting as an example of one of the ways in which bond land gradually lost its servile characteristics. In addition to the reaping-works, all the weeding-works were also sold; but it is less likely that the 14s. charged in respect of the ploughing-

1. Possibly, the tenants had been attracted by the seigneurial concession of relatively long leases.

works represents the value of all of these services. The hauling-works of 33 customers were however all sold, the sum charged being identical with that quoted on the 1356 rental. In all, the works were expected to raise about £3.8s.

Manorial activity had however not ceased altogether. At least 20 acres of meadowland were not charged among the 'Manorial Issues' because of their use to provide hay or pasture for the lord's horses and cattle,¹ while just over £1 had been spent on the costs of hay-making. The mowing, gathering and stacking of the hay had been done by a contractor, but the carrying of it to the manor had largely been the work of tenants. Hired labour was also relied upon for most of the other repair and agricultural operations of the manor.

The seigneurial rights over the woods and waste were expected to yield a valuable supplement to this predominantly rent-based income. Pannage was charged at over £5 in all. Grazing rights in the park were expected to yield a much smaller income, and the importance of this source was moreover probably declining as the demesne lands outside the park were farmed. It is possibly significant in view of the references to assarting that wood sales in the 'wood and forest' (as opposed to those in the park) were charged at over £4 in 1397-8.

1. The account of 1397-8 was old-fashioned enough to include a stock account; but the numbers of animals mentioned are very few, with the exception of pigs. During the course of the year, the needs of the Household had decreased the numbers of pigs and piglets by 54 and, at the close of the account, the stock consisted of 3 boars, 4 sows, and 20 pigs and piglets. One cow remained from the preceding year and had been joined by two strays, but only temporarily, for two of this herd had been eaten before the end of the year. There were also horses, oxen and swans at Raglan, but the numbers of these do not seem to have been very significant.

Of the manorial institutions, only the court added significantly to the landed income: eight sessions were held at Raglan in 1397-8 and resulted in a charge of £10.8s. The manor's corn-mill still functioned, unlike the fulling-mill which had fallen into disrepair, but had been leased for £2 a year.

The information on the discharge side of the account is disappointing in the paucity of its references to the running and state of the manor. The bulk of the cash received by the accounting officials was transmitted to the lady and consequently we know next to nothing of the expenditure of that revenue: of a total discharge of £76, about £66 consisted of cash liveries paid by the messor, reeve and Receiver. Conversely, relatively little was spent by the accountants on the running costs of the lordship. The most significant exceptions were the fees and wages paid by the Receiver and messor: the sums paid to the Steward, master-sergeant, court clerk and porter, and retained by the messor, amounted to well over £3. (This sum did not moreover include £1 allowed elsewhere to the reeve, and part of the remuneration normally paid to the messor). On the other hand, repair, agricultural, and official and Household costs consumed relatively insignificant sums in 1397-8.

The account thus presents us with a picture of a manor deep in the process of change. A large part of the demesne had been let and seigneurial, agricultural activity had probably decreased to a level necessary to maintain the lord's livestock and to supply some of the Household's requirements. The tillage had been somewhat increased by the process of assarting, while at least one piece of the existing manorial lands was in the course of losing its servile characteristics. The customary

works were very largely commuted, the labour requirements of the lord being met by the employment of hired hands and contract workers. However, within this increasingly rent-centred economy, important vestiges of the past remained. The most important of these was the court, whose perquisites appear to have been quite valuable. The seigneurial rights over the waste and woods of the manor were still operative, and were possibly quite significant financially. Generally speaking, the manor appears to have been in a relatively healthy state at the end of the 14th. century. The level of the discharge in relation to the current charge and (more significantly) to the arrears figures on the account, and the relatively insignificant amount of decay which had built up since 1364-5, testify to Raglan's well-being and administrative efficiency.

So far as the tenants are concerned, we can dimly see a process of acquisition taking place in which the most prosperous peasants of the 1360's were playing a leading part. Thus, Griffith ap David Wyth, who held unfree land bearing rent of 7s. a year in 1364-5, was paying one of the more important new rents in the 1390's: an assart in 'Hendre Basket' had been rented for 5s. to Griffith and his heirs. His son, Ievan, had moreover taken on three acres of new assart at a rent of 1s.6d. in 1384-5, while Griffith and another man were leasing a further four acres of assarted land from 1390-1.¹ Howell Wyth - possibly the Howell ap David Wyth who owed 5s.7d. for unfree land in the 1360's - had similarly gathered together demesne and assarted properties worth 1s.1d. by 1397-8. Not all of those who profited by the developments

1. Griffith ap David Wyth is also possibly to be identified with Griffith ap Wyth, who appears among the free tenants in 1364-5 as the tenant of land rented for 5s.6d. a year.

of the last thirty years of the 14th. century had been large tenants in the 1360's, however. Ievan ap Eynon was the tenant of a small bond property in 1364-5 and also owed $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a year for a free holding: by 1397-8 a son of his was leasing at least 12 acres of demesne land. David ap Ievan Vaughan was similarly one of the least prosperous of the villein tenants of the 1360's, but he had managed to acquire seven acres of arable by 1397-8 at a rent of over twice the value of his initial holding. This evidence alone suggests that there was a demand for land within the manor in the late-14th. century. This same demand also supplied a tenant for the vacant, middle-rank holding of two tenants of the 1360's and enabled the lord to secure an assize rent of 5s. in place of a rent of 2s.11d. and 3 reaping-works! Unfortunately, we have no way of telling to what extent these enterprising villein tenants were involved in the farming of the demesne properties, nor of the effect of that development on them and the social structure of the manor.

* * * * *

By 1436-7 the number of tenants at Raglan was markedly lower than it had been in the mid-14th. century. A rental of this date suggests that there were then only 96 tenants in the lordship, 55 of whom owed services and money rents, and 54 money or nominal rents.¹ It will be recalled that in 1354 there were nearly 190 tenants on the manor, of whom 120 were bond tenants and cottars, and 93 free and burgage

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1612.

tenants. (In the two cases, certain tenants fall within both of the main categories).¹

An analysis of the value of the rents owed in 1364-5 reveals that only about 20 tenants were paying rents in excess of 5s. and that about half of the total tenantry were liable in respect of rents of less than 2s. Only seven tenants owed more than 10s. By 1436-7 the position was somewhat different: only 23 tenants owed less than 2s., 28 owed more than 2s. but less than 5s., and 43 over 5s. Of the latter group, 18 tenants were paying over 10s.²

The fall in the number of the tenants had thus been accompanied by a general rise in the prosperity of those who remained. When we have made allowance for the few smaller, burgage tenants included in the lowest category of rent-payers, it is obvious that the numbers of villein smallholders were very few.³ But if the bulk of the tenantry were prospering, certain of them were doing very well indeed, and it is to them and their properties that we now turn.

1. Thus, in 1436-7, John ap David ap Griffith owed a money-rent of 6s.8d. and three days reaping for one piece of land, and three red roses and a fifth of a pound of cumin in respect of other properties.
2. Two tenants only owed nominal rents.
3. The breakdown of the rents owed by the larger peasants of 1436-7, when compared with the information of the 1360's, suggests that much of the build-up of the larger peasant holdings had been at the expense of the small-holder.

Of the six peasant holdings which owed the highest rents, five were composed of many pieces of land - often of small value in themselves. These estates give the impression of having been built up by a gradual process of accumulation and devolution over a considerable period of time. Only Jankyn ap David Vaughan, who owed nearly 17s., held property which suggests rapid acquisition: the lands which made up Jankyn's holding consisted of two main blocks, both of which had been in the hands of prosperous tenant families of the 1360's. More typical was the congerie of lands for which Guillim ap Ievan Vaughan paid over 17s. rent and 23 days reaping. Lands rented for 3s.10d. and 6 days reaping, and late of Ievan ap David Estron and Ievan Vaughan Estron, probably represented Guillim's patrimony.¹ Ten other properties had been added to this nucleus. So far as we can identify the past tenants of Guillim's lands, they seem to have been villein tenants of the lowest or middle-rank. The property held by Hoskin ap Guillim ap Ievan ap Eynon and his brother similarly consisted largely of plots of land held by their father.² Hoskin had however added a further 13 acres held jointly and five acres held personally to his patrimony. The most valuable element of the holding of Guillim and David ap Morice was land once held by one of the most prosperous tenants of the 1360's, Griffith ap David Wyth. (David also held land on his own account with Ievan ap Griffith Wyth). Whether the Wyth properties had come into the

1. Ievan ap David Estron was a middle-rank villein tenant of the 1360's.
2. We have already noticed that although Ievan ap Eynon held little property according to the 1364-5 rental, a son of his had secured 12 acres of the demesne by 1397-8.

brothers' hands by devolution or by purchase is not apparent; but it is clear that there was often a relationship - and sometimes a family one - between the larger tenants of the 1360's and those of the 1430's, and between the holdings of both groups. From their familiar bases - or from those taken over from others - these tenants were especially well-placed to take advantage of the fluid land situation of the late-14th. and early-15th. century.

Reference has already been made to the vigorous demand for land at Raglan in the late-14th. century, and it is worth noting that the new rental of 1436 added a further £3 to the £22.15s. charged according to the record of 1364-5. As we have deduced elsewhere, the fall in the numbers of the tenantry had thus been accompanied by a rise in the value of the rents owed.

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Raglan seems to have been worth rather less to its lord in the mid-15th. century than it had been in the late-14th. The current charge on the Receiver's accounts of the 1450's and 1460's varied between £32 and £48, as opposed to the £60 charged in 1397-8.¹

As before, rent-income was the basis of the charge. In addition to the £25.12s. expected from the assize rents of the free and bond tenants, increases of rent and new rents were charged. The latter were only worth about 5s. during this period, but it is interesting to note

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1578, 1582 and 1584. The accounts are for the years 1452-3 and 1461-4. There was still a reeve at Raglan, for the Receiver was charged with the arrears of this official and accounted for cash received from him. A notable omission from the Receiver's charge is the sale of works; this was probably accounted for by the reeve.

that these new rents included a number of small items in respect of waste and wood-land which had been taken into cultivation.¹ The more significant rent-increases rose from about £2.9s. in 1452-3 to £4.7s. in 1461-2 and £4.9s. in 1462-4. Some of these items were quite valuable: in 1463-4, for example, John Butler owed over 10s. for two crofts, containing 9 burgages, and a parcel of meadow;² Ievan ap Griffith ap Ivor owed increases worth nearly 7s. on land formerly held by free and unfree tenants of the 1430's,³ and Lewis ap Griffith was charged an increase of 11s.4d. in respect of two burgage properties. In the case of one of those owing sizeable rent-increases - William John ap Ser David - we are dealing with the son of one of the prosperous tenants of the 1430's. John ap Ser David had owed a free rent of 9s. in 1436-7: his son owed a small increase on one of his father's properties, but the bulk of his rent-increases related to lands which had apparently not formed a part of his patrimony. William thus owed over 5s. as increases on two parcels of meadow by the 1460's.⁴ A

1. Thus, William ap Ievan ap Philip had agreed to pay 2d. a year for a piece of woodland in Coid Vaughan, which had been leased to him for life.
2. The entries relating to Butler may however cover seigneurial use of the properties, for he was described as 'the lord's servant' in 1461-2.
3. The villein holding had been valued at 3s.2d. and 6 days reaping in 1436-7: Ievan took it over at an assized rent of 8s.4d.
4. William was Herbert's parker in Old Park by a life grant made in, or before, 1452-3: he was still in office in 1481-2.

comparison of the rent increases of 1452-3 with those of 1463-4 suggests that the intervening period was a busy one so far as the movement of land was concerned: the earlier account has no items comparable with the increases owed by John Butler and Lewis ap Griffith, and only one tenant owed more than one increase.

Sir William ap Thomas and his son seem to have taken advantage of the fluid situation so far as land was concerned to add to their holdings in the area. In 1436-7 Philip ap Adam ap Guillim appears as one of Sir William's most important tenants, owing over 12s. and a number of nominal rents. Before Sir William's death in 1445, James ap Philip ap Adam and his brother sold some of their father's land to the knight; these properties had been leased to various tenants and were charged at about 10s. in 1452-3. By the 1460's further sales may have taken place, for the charge had risen to just over £2 (excluding the value of a meadow which had been mown for the lord's horses). The largest of the rents contributing to this charge was a composite one of £1.13s.4d. owed by Hoskyn ap Philip ap Adam: the properties he held had been granted to him by charter. It would thus seem that the Herberts bought out the heirs of one of their larger tenants, and then re-granted certain of the properties to a brother of the vendors.¹

The proceeds of the court and of pannage could still be of significance, although, even at their highest, these issues seem to have fallen short of the sums charged in 1397-8. The number of courts held

1. Hoskyn was also paying a rent-increase on lands at Rhiw-las, which had come into the lord's hands 'in the time of Sir William Thomas'.

seems to have varied; but again apparently never equalled the eight sessions of the late-14th-century account. In 1463-4 these issues reached their highest level; pannage and the perquisites of three courts resulting in the addition of well over £9 to the total charge.

The accounts for these years suggest a level of seigneurial activity possibly in excess of that obtaining at the end of the 14th. century. The grain mill, which had been farmed for £2 a year in the late-14th. century, was reserved in the mid-15th. for the work of the Household.

The evidence relating to decayed rents leads one to similar conclusions about the seigneurial activity of these years. Very little of the decay (which was running at about 10% of the current charge during the early 1460's) was the result of lands being vacant, and a great deal was the consequence of lands being withdrawn from the charge for seigneurial use. Thus in 1463-4 of a total decay figure of £3.12s., £2.8s. was lost to the rent-charge as the result of plots of land being taken into the lord's fields and meadows, while emparkment accounts for another 11s: decay as a consequence of vacancies resulted in the loss of only 2s. Looked at from another point-of-view, the 1463-4 information reveals that rents worth just over £1 were foregone in 'Furlong Newethe'; in two other fields - 'Mais Werva' and 'Mais Velyn' - lands worth nearly 18s. were withdrawn, and in the meadows of 'Wirloed Novys' and 'Wetmede' plots valued at 4s.8d. and 3s.4d. respectively. The 'new' park and 'Coket park' incorporated lands worth about 11s., while the cart-house, kitchen-garden and warren occupied lands rentable at 2s.6d.

The 1452-3 account indicates that the policy of emparkment and demesne augmentation was being actively pursued by that date.¹ The 1436-7 rental too displays indications of the process, if not of the chronology: it is liberally amended, the most common marginal note being 'infra parcum'. The policy was not without its confusions. In 1452-3 the accountant was not only charged for a number of rent-increases dating back to 1444-5 and only just disclosed, but was also made liable for a number of mistaken allowances, which had been wrongly conceded from about the same date. Three of these allowances had been made because the lands were thought to be in Wirloed Novys, Coket park and Furlong Newethe.² All this information leads one to the conclusion that, from the seigneurial point of view, Raglan was expanding during the 1440's and 1450's. The very names of the fields - Furlong Newethe and Wirloed Novys - suggest new groupings, rather than a reclamation of demesne lands previously surrendered to the tenantry.³ The effect of this seigneurial activity on the tenantry can only be guessed at: there was possibly a rise in the proportion of smallholders or - more probably - a further reduction in the numbers of tenants. Sizeable proportions of

1. In that year rents were lost in Mais Werva and Mais Velyn (£1.8s.), the new park and Coket park (3s.), Furlong Newethe (£1.2s.), and Wirloed Novys (1s.8d.). It is not clear whether these withdrawals were made on a year-to-year basis, or whether they were losses of a more permanent nature.
2. It seems very probable that an enquiry was held into the state of the manor after Sir William ap Thomas's death in 1445 and before 1452, and that the disclosures of that enquiry led to the corrections on the account in respect of the period of William Herbert's tenure. While the change of lords may have been responsible for some of the confusion revealed on the 1452-3 account, an important contributory factor was probably the fluidity of the arrangements concerning demesne properties.
3. The rental evidence reveals that land burdened with labour services had been included in the seigneurial fields and parks, which makes the notion of a re-claimed demesne less plausible.

the holdings of more than 10 tenants mentioned on the 1436-7 rental were later added to the seigneurial lands, while a handful of the tenants of the 1430's seem to have lost their entire holdings in this way.

The discharge information on the Receiver's accounts of the 1450's and 1460's is relatively detailed by comparison with that of 1397-8, and, to some extent, this difference may account for the impression that the later period was characterized by a higher level of seigneurial activity.

During the mid-15th century the Receiver spent less than £5 of his issues in payment of the Vicar's tithe and the fees and expenses of the Steward, parker, court clerk and other officials associated with the court.

Of much greater significance - and interest - were the allowances for 'foreign payments', 'necessary costs' and 'Household expenses'. These items consumed about £25 of a total discharge of £30 in 1452-3; in 1463-4 the respective figures were £40 and £49. It became necessary in the latter year to bolster up the Receiver's funds - at least temporarily - with drafts from the Household: in all £5.8s. was paid to the Receiver - possibly to cover specific costs.¹ Foodstuffs and other items purchased on behalf of the Household accounted for the bulk of this expenditure.

1. The bulk of the payments - possibly all of them - were made in the Summer of 1464.

In 1452-3 the victuals, wax, wicks and 'other necessities' delivered had been worth nearly £19, according to the tallies of receipt produced by the Receiver to justify his claim for the allowance of that sum. The cost of the victuals and other goods delivered between September 1463 and the following September was just over £36, and over £2 was also allowed in the foot of the account as the cost of bringing ale from Usk. The 'foreign payments' and 'necessary expenses' were less valuable, but are more illuminating than the Household expenses. In 1452-3 about £5.16s. was allowed in this respect. The Household and manorial staff who had received wages totalling £1.18s. included a butler, cook, cook's servant, thresher and ploughman. In addition, nearly 19s. had been paid to men carting the tithe, and to ploughmen and harrowers working on the demesne.¹ Then the purchase and carting of salt from Chepstow and the carriage of fish and grain had consumed over £2.5s.² The cost of harvesting the lord's hay and carting purchased hay was allowed at 8s. Finally, a man was paid nearly 5s. for making and repairing the lord's ploughs by agreement with the supervisor of the lord's husbandry.³ The 1463-4 account

1. The customary tenants received 1d. a day from the lord when performing their ploughing services. The harrowers had received a gift of ale worth 6d. while working in Furlong Newethe.
2. Certain Raglan tenants may have been under an obligation to cart goods for the lord at a certain wage (in addition to the hauling services within the manor already mentioned). Those who had carried salt from Chepstow were thus allowed 4d. for each man and his horse: this payment was made 'according to ancient custom'.
3. This servant was perhaps the official descendant of the messor. The latter term was still in use however and was applied in 1468-9 to Ievan Hire, who was serving as the bailiff of the demesne by 1479-80. Raglan would thus seem to have been administered by the same trio of officials who had rendered account in the late-14th. century; the Receiver, reeve and messor. It should however be noted that as demesne bailiff Ievan's importance was far in excess of any messor's: he received a fee of £2 for the performance of this office and - according to the gloss - 'the keeping of the Castle and gardens' and his 'attendance to the lord's husbandry'. In addition to the collection of rents for demesne properties, the bailiff sold surplus grain, dispensed liveries of grain to various servants, purchased oats for the horses, oversaw and paid for the agricultural operations of the area, arranged for the transport of the lord's stuff from area to area, and paid for repairs to the Castle, mills and other manorial properties.

does not detail the foreign payments, but the gloss suggests a composition similar to that of 1452-3. The sum allowed - after examination by the Household Steward - was however less at £2.12s.

The discharge was thus dominated - perhaps to an increasing extent - by expenditure on behalf of the Household. William Herbert's rise to prominence in the 1460's was very probably reflected in his domestic arrangements, which would help to account for the marked rise in the demands being made on the Receiver's issues in the 1460's. Household needs may also have stimulated seigneurial, agricultural activity; although it is difficult to be certain in this respect, there does seem to have been a revival in seigneurial agriculture between the late-14th. century and the 1450's. The difference would seem to have been a qualitative, as well as a quantitative, one: the agricultural activity of the 1390's was apparently predominantly pastoral, whereas by the 1450's there are also references to the exaction of ploughing-works and the growing of oats.

* * * * *

Three accounts survive for Raglan from the period 1479 to 1482.¹

In many respects, the manor was very much the same as it had been during the 1460's. Despite the royal grant of lands in the vicinity of Raglan, the charge in respect of the tenants' rents was not markedly greater at £26 than it had been in the 1450's.

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1509, 1589 and 1590.

By the late 1470's the manor's demesne properties were being administered by the 'bailiff and rent-collector of the demesne lands',¹ along with the seigneurial properties of nearby Mathenny. A fluctuating proportion of these lands was leased annually and the bailiff charged with the collection of the rents. The leases of demesne land at Raglan were worth very much less than those at Mathenny, which were charged at £12.8s. in 1481-2: the Raglan charge ranged between £3 and £3.9s. In both cases, the properties leased were pieces of pasture, and the main cause of the fluctuation in the rent proceeds of these demesne lands was the withdrawal of plots for arable use, or for the maintenance of the lord's livestock. Thus, in 1479-80 pasture in Mais Velyn was sold for 7s., but the following year the field was lying fallow in readiness for the subsequent year when it was to be sown with corn. (By the time the 1481-2 account had been drawn up, the corn from Mais Velyn had been harvested, but not yet threshed).

In 1481-2 the 'great new meadow's' pasturage produced a rent of 13s.4d, but the second crop of this property was not sold because it had been used to feed the lord's animals. Conversely, the meadow's first growth of the preceding year had been reserved for seigneurial use and the second crop sold.

It is clear from these accounts that the seigneurial, agricultural activity which was a characteristic of the manor in the 1450's and 1460's continued into the early 1480's. Grain raised at Raglan, Mathenny and Penrhos was sold in 1480-1 and 1481-2, the proceeds appearing on the

1. The functions of this official are discussed above, see p. 462, n. 3.

demesne bailiff's account as 'foreign' receipts. Nearly £4 was charged in 1481-2 for 95½ truggs of wheat produced at Raglan, Mathenny and Penrhos during the preceding year and 50 truggs of oats grown at Penrhos in the current year. Cultivation was apparently a joint enterprise involving both the lord and his tenants, for there are a number of references on the account to lands sown by the tenantry 'to the third sheaf', presumably a form of metéage. The discharge side of the demesne bailiff's account reveals some of the cost of this activity. In 1481-2, for instance, he was allowed just over 15s. for the ploughing of a field, the making and carriage of hay, and the lifting, carriage and threshing of the lord's grain.¹ As a preliminary to the sowing of oats, the field already mentioned had had to be enclosed, and the cost of this - along with further ploughing, the enclosure of a meadow, hay-making, and the carting of grain - accounted for a further £3.4s. Raglan's bailiff also shared in the agricultural expenses of the area: in 1480-1, for instance, he paid for brush-wood to be cut in the parks and purchased two oxen for the lord's plough, the beasts being delivered to the demesne bailiff.

Raglan's grain mill was almost certainly being used by the administration during this period. In 1479-80 it was farmed for £1.13s.4d., but the lessee was the demesne bailiff. The mill was moreover transferred to the demesne bailiff's account in 1481-2 and the 'issues' charged, by the accountant's valuation, at £1.12s.8½d.

1. These costs were expressed as the values of quantities of wheat, which perhaps means that the labourers had been paid in kind. It would seem that at least two of the manor's servants of 1452-3 were still employed in the 1480's. The ploughman of the 1450's was thus rewarded in 1480-1 and allowed his expenses while driving sheep to the Household in 1481-2, while the cook's servant rode to warn John Herbert of the Auditor's coming in 1480-1.

By the late 1470's the income of the manor apparently depended more than ever on the tenants' rents.¹ The proceeds of the sale of pasturage in the demesne lands was the next most important item of the charge, but this was worth very much less than the assize rents. The sale of unwanted produce was apparently of equivalent significance, although we cannot be sure how often such sales occurred. The other items of the charge seem to have continued to decline in importance. Despite the fact that seven and six sessions of Raglan's court were held in 1479-80 and 1480-81, the judicial charge only amounted to about £2.10s in both years, and fell below £2 in 1481-2. The manor's brew-house and the right to the tolls of picage were both farmed for small sums. Agistment and pannage were more valuable, although very variable in their occurrence. Pannage in the upper park was thus expected to yield nearly £1 in 1479-80, but was not charged in the subsequent two years. Agistment in the upper park was worth nearly £1.8s. in 1480-1, and over £2 in 1481-2. Like the proceeds of the demesne pasturage, these feeding rights in the park were probably sold after the seigneurial needs had been met, and the sales thus represent a residual and fluctuating addition to the manor's monetary income. The monetary value of agistment is to some extent obscured on the accounts by the practice of financing repairs and the payment of fees from this casual income. Thus, in 1479-80, agistment in the upper park did not yield any income to the bailiff because the issues had been spent on repair work, while the proceeds of agistment in the lower park in 1481-2 remained in the hands of the parker as his fee.

1. The collection of these, the court perquisites, the mill farm and the proceeds of pannage and agistment was the responsibility of the Raglan bailiff.

The removal of most of the manor's agricultural functions to a specialist official (the demesne bailiff) and the lower status of the Raglan official accounting in 1479-80 resulted in a discharge which was, in many respects, different from that of the Receiver of the 1450's and 1460's.

The Raglan bailiff thus paid the bulk of his issues to the Receiver, who presumably did most of the spending on behalf of the Household. In 1479-80, for example, the bailiff discharged well over £17 of a total discharge of £28.13s. in this way. He was also responsible for the payment of the fees and wages of the less-important of the local officers, which usually consumed about £2.¹ As we have seen, the Raglan bailiff helped the demesne official to pay for the agricultural costs of the area, and bore relatively small costs for work in the parks. Thus, in 1481-2 he was allowed 9s. for the wages of men hired to cut down trees in the park for the feeding of the lord's animals and the repairing of the park palings and lodge. During that year he also spent a mark on repair work in Raglan Castle.² Most of the other expenses allowed to the Raglan bailiff were official ones: in 1480-1, for example, he had paid the Steward's court expenses and the cost of the auditing sessions, he was allowed the rent of a property in which the stables seem to have been situated and had borne certain costs associated with this department of the Household, and had journeyed to warn a prominent Herbert official of the imminence of the audit. On

1. Thus, in 1479-80, he paid the fees of the court clerk and forester, as well as his own stipend.
2. The initiation and supervision of such work almost certainly belonged to higher officials or members of the Herbert family. The account of 1481-2 thus suggests that the dowager-Countess was at Raglan in that year supervising repairs to the Castle.

occasion, he also helped to pay the creditors of the Household, as in 1480-1, when he found part of a sum owed for ale. In short then, the Raglan bailiff paid over the bulk of his issues in the form of cash to a superior, receiving official, and disposed of the residue by paying local officials their stipends and sharing the agricultural, repair and official costs of the area: unlike the Receiver of the 1460's, he played no conspicuous part in the victualling of the Household.

The Raglan bailiff's expenditure had also been restricted by the institution of a special official for the demesne lands. Reference has already been made to the value and nature of the demesne bailiff's agricultural expenditure, but his involvement in the running of the manors of Raglan and Mathenny did not end there. He obviously shared the cost of maintaining the properties of the two manors with the manorial bailiffs, in 1481-2 spending nearly 11s. for work done on the two mills and in Mathenny manor. The demesne bailiff moreover spent heavily on the official costs of the area. The delivery of corn to the keepers of the lord's horses, the threshers, the lord's brother, the parker and the men working in the park; the dog-keeper and 'other servants' accounted for most of the £9 allowed as the bailiff's 'payments' in 1480-1: in the following year deliveries of corn (or money) to the horse-keepers were worth well over £4 of a total discharge of £20.8s. Finally, the demesne official's issues were tapped to help pay Household bills for goods supplied and the cost of transporting goods to and from Raglan.

Apart from the administrative changes which alter our view-point of

the manor, the Raglan of the late 1470's does not appear to have been substantially different from that of the early 1460's. Rent income had possibly become more significant as the seigneurial rights over the woodland and waste declined in value. Yet Raglan was far from becoming a rentier property, and seigneurial, agricultural activity was being pursued on the demesne lands of the manor and its neighbours as it had been in the 1460's.

So far as we can tell, Raglan was in a healthy state at the beginning of the 1480's and was being efficiently run. Even at their highest, the sums allowed and respited because of decay were not very significant, and moreover included items which were only decayed in a technical sense. In 1479-80 the decay allowance at Raglan was worth £2.12s. and further rents totalling nearly 12s. were respited because of a lack of tenants: the current charge was valued at over £30. In 1481-2 a detailed breakdown of the decay - which by then had declined in value to £1.5s.-was given. Many of the properties involved were burgages, like that on which the bre-house had been built and the one and a half burgages which had been enclosed within the lord's garden. Other properties had been enclosed within the park, or had been leased below their value in exchange for plots which had been emparked. Of the other rents allowed on the Raglan official's accounts, only those which were lost as the consequence of the seigneurial use of the relevant properties were significant financially: allowances in respect of Mais Werva and two parcels of meadow thus added £1.6s. to the bailiff's discharge in 1481-2.

The Raglan and Mathenny accounts however reveal traces of the

tendency for arrears to accumulate during these years, a tendency which is noticeable on the Earl's other properties in the area. At the end of 1479-80 the Raglan bailiff owed nearly £5: of this sum, he was personally responsible for nearly £3.9s. and the residual sums only extended back to the preceding year. The undischarged sum in the foot of the 1481-2 account was still not very large at £8.12s. and, once again, the current official owed well over half of this sum. On the other hand, the residual sums of 1479-80 all reappear, and not a whit diminished. At Mathenny the arrears stood at £6.16s. at the end of 1479-80, of which £2.10s. was owed in respect of 1477-8. In 1482 the 1477-8 debt was still unpaid, as was a sum of £2.2s. from 1478-9: the total arrears then stood at £7. Not too much must be made of these suggestions of a decline in administrative efficiency, for the sums involved were relatively small and the proportion of the discharge to the charge contradicts this evidence. In 1479-80, for instance, Raglan's total charge stood at £34, of which well over £28 was realized; the following year's performance was even better, with nearly £34 of £38 being discharged. (The evidence from Mathenny is considerably less impressive, but, even so, one would not be justified in deducing administrative inefficiency from the figures). The speed and comprehensiveness of Raglan's discharge undoubtedly resulted, to a great extent, from the simplicity of its charge and the relative insignificance of judicial items (which were often discharged over a number of years, but charged in the year of their imposition). The fact that the manor was also the hub of the Herbert estates in Wales and the Marches - and possibly of the English estates

as well - may have made the livery of cash and the obtaining of allowance rather easier than they were on outlying properties.

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Raglan would thus appear to have had a history which was untypical of many late-medieval manors, and untypical of many of the Herbert family's other properties. The manor may have escaped the worst effects of the economic crises of the 14th. century, and certainly exhibited signs of growth and vigour in the second half of that century. Nevertheless, the lord had virtually abandoned the cultivation of the demesne arable by the 1390's, and such agricultural activity as there was was mainly concerned with the sustenance of the livestock. Raglan may have suffered more during Glyndwr's Rebellion than in the 14th. century, for the numbers of tenants on the manor had fallen markedly by the 1430's. The 15th.-century accounts also reveal some signs of the decay which was a common feature of many Welsh and Marcher properties at this time, notably in the decline in the revenues expected from the casual sources of income.

Raglan did not however wholly lose its manorial characteristics and become a rentier estate. The acquisition of the property by Sir William ap Thomas and its development as the seat of his family invigorated certain aspects of the manor's life and probably reversed some of the tendencies of the preceding century. The needs of the Household were probably responsible for the return to, or invigoration of, demesne farming: at least some of the labour services owed were being exacted in the mid-15th. century to facilitate the efforts of the administration in this respect, while others were used for the transportation of goods to, and from, Raglan. Nor was pastoral farming neglected: emparkment was very probably associated with the need to rear livestock for the

Household and to support the horses and working animals of the lordship. Sir William Herbert's rise to power cannot have failed to augment the significance of Raglan, and almost certainly resulted in a growth in the demands made by the Household on the manor in particular and the area in general. By the early 1480's, the agricultural function had been separated from the other functions of the manor, which by then consisted almost entirely of the collection of rents and court perquisites.

Raglan's development in the later middle ages had thus been fairly normal up to the point when it became the residence of an important gentry family: the economic and organizational changes which resulted from the Herbert acquisition had, by the 1480's, revived the manorial economy, but in a functional form which, in fact, completed the disruption of the manor as it had existed in, and before, the 14th. century.

CONCLUSION

Prior to 1460 the Herbert family's history had been very similar to that of a number of other successful, official families of south Wales and the Marches. Sir William ap Thomas's ability had secured him employment as a high official of many of the lords of south Wales, and also very probably the advantages for acquiring lands and influence which high office usually bestowed. Local office was the foundation of the family's wealth and influence, but favourable marriages also made an important contribution, both in terms of the contacts they secured with other families and their material advantages.

After Sir William's death, his sons carried on his work by serving their aristocratic, clerical and royal neighbours as administrators. In the event, the family's connexion with the administration of the Mortimer estates was to be crucial so far as its advancement was concerned. It was probably as a consequence of this connexion that William Herbert moved into close relationship with the Devereuxs of Weobley during the late 1440's: it certainly led him and members of his family into political activity on behalf of their patron, the Duke of York, activity for which they were made to answer by the Lancastrian government in 1457. That Herbert was less important than Devereux as an officer and ally of York is suggested by the government's attempt to prise the knight away from his Devereux confederates by relatively moderate treatment in the late 1450's.¹ But, whatever his status as a Mortimer official in the 1450's, Herbert's activities

1. There are however other grounds for thinking that Devereux was closer to York than Herbert was at this time.

after the Yorkist victory at Northampton (July 1460) endeared him to the Duke of York's son, the Earl of March, and, when the latter became king in March 1461, William's hitherto solid career became one of spectacular proportion. The accession of his young, aristocratic employer and patron presented William with the prospect of employments and rewards far beyond the scope of those obtained by his father. An experienced man in his late 30's, he was able to take full advantage of these opportunities, and for the rest of his life his family was one of the most powerful and wealthy in Wales.

The family's good fortune was not however of long duration. By the close of the 15th. century, the titles and many of the properties inherited and acquired by the first Earl had passed to his granddaughter and her husband. As early as the 1470's, Edward may have been having second thoughts about his earlier largesse where the Herbert family was concerned and, even before the second Earl lost most of his estates in west Wales by the exchange of 1479, properties had been taken from the family.¹ Royal agents of the first Earl's type were probably less desirable in the relatively untroubled years of Edward's restoration, and the declining power of the Herbert family is almost certainly to be associated with the development of an alternative means of governing Wales through the princely council situated at Ludlow.

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1. Caldicot was resumed by act of parliament in 1473: Goodrich and Archenfield also seem to have returned to the Crown for the duration of the Talbot minority in the 1470's. R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, London, 1953, Vol. I, p. 242. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1122/12

The family's history in the 15th. century helps to explain the very considerable differences which existed between the Herbert estates so far as their provenance, organization and staffing were concerned. Most of the properties accumulated by Sir William ap Thomas and his son in Gwent and Glamorgan were acquired by a policy of often small-scale purchasing and leasing. The organization of the estates in south-east Wales was relatively simple, most of them being run by bailiffs who were financially responsible to the Receiver-General at Raglan by the 1460's. The most significant officials of this area - the Stewards and Household officers - were often men whose association with the Herbert family was close ; in some cases they were actually drawn from the well-peopled ranks of the Raglan family. By contrast, the majority of the estates in west Wales and all of those in south-west England came into the family's hands by royal grants of the 1460's.¹ The organization of the estates acquired by royal grant and of the properties farmed and purchased during the 1460's was of a different scale from that of the Herbert patrimony. The former properties were large enough to permit some specialization of function among the local officials, and a receiver was employed to collect the cash surpluses of these local ministers and to control the expenditure of the lordship: in west Wales, where the estates ceded to Herbert represented a self-contained complex of properties historically associated with the earldom of

1. The estates purchased from the Mowbray family were the exceptions in west Wales, although there is more than a suspicion of royal intervention, perhaps even initiative, about the transaction.

Pembroke, the baron also inherited a regional receiving and dispensing official, the Pembroke Treasurer. Then the estates granted and farmed to Herbert were run (and largely continued to be run) by men who had been associated with the locality, and often with the particular property, for many years, but whose connexion with the baron and his family was (and apparently usually continued to be) slight.

Any attempts by Herbert and his successors to introduce some uniformity and coherence into this disparate collection of properties were probably limited in their scope. The internal organizations of the newer, constituent parts of the Herbert estate complex were left very much as they had been before William's entry, the most important, local receivers being simply subordinated to the baron's Receiver-General or to Herbert himself. Some nominal offices may have been dispensed with and a few non-resident officials replaced by their humbler (and cheaper) erstwhile deputies. The complicated organization of the west Walian properties was also amended in the 1460's and 1470's. In the former decade the jurisdiction of the Treasurer as a revenue-collector suffered as a result of the transference of direct responsibility for the dependent lordships to the Receiver-General. By the mid 1470's, when the emphasis on the rapid production and centralization of cash may not have been so strong, the Treasurer had regained his powers of collection in the dependent lordships. The situation had however been rationalized to a certain extent by the simultaneous employment of the Pembroke Treasurer as the Receiver of the dependent properties. On the whole though, the organization of the acquired properties was not re-fashioned but merely attached to the

Herbert administrative system at its highest level.

Similarly, the personnel of the newly-acquired estates were left virtually undisturbed in their occupation of all but the most important offices, which went (as they probably always had) to men from outside the area - in this case to members of the baron's family and trusted officials from the home area. By placing tried supporters in key offices, and by his own visits and those of his commissioners and itinerant officials, Herbert was able to protect his interests at relatively little expense in trained, loyal and (no doubt) scarce officers.

The sudden death of the first Earl of Pembroke undoubtedly checked any tendency there may have been for the estates to become a coherent whole. The majority of the heritable properties were secured by the dowager-Countess for the duration of the second Earl's minority, but it is unlikely that there were any serious attempts to reform the organization and staffing of the estates during this period. In 1475, when the second Earl entered his inheritance and the dowager received her settlement, the working unity achieved by the first Earl and his officials almost certainly came to an end. The partition of the estates in south-east Wales was accompanied by the resumption of one or two of the properties granted to the family, and followed, in 1479, by the loss of most of the west Walian estates. By the 1480's the Herbert estates had thus shrunk to the partitioned bloc in south-east Wales with subsidiary groups of properties in west Wales and south-west England. Small wonder that, in this situation, the organizational unity imposed on the estates in the 1460's by the

subordination of most properties to the Receiver-General appears to have been replaced by a less centralized form of organization in the 1470's and 1480's.

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The Herbert estates were not only lacking in unity so far as their organization and staffing were concerned; they also differed from each other in kind. Thus, while most properties were heavily dependent upon income from rents, there were some whose charges were relatively varied. Generally, the larger and complexly-organized estates acquired during the 1460's had more varied charges than the properties of the Herbert patrimony, for their greater extent usually resulted in the inclusion of areas of differing kind and potentiality. Location had much to do with these differences between properties and the income derived from them. Thus, the situation of Chepstow and Haverford alongside the busy sea-lanes leading to Bristol and their possession of agriculturally-rich hinterlands made it all but inevitable that their lord would draw some of his income from the dues on trade. Similarly, the location of Crickhowell and Llandovery in relatively upland areas peopled by numbers of Welsh tenants resulted in the rents and dues of these lordships having features which were quite different from those of the lowland properties. The profits from mining in Pembroke, Gower, and Crickhowell, and from agricultural activity in upper Gwent, were also to a large extent the consequences of location.

Given the scattered nature of Herbert's estates one might have expected the sources of his income to have been very diverse, but in fact they exhibit a surprising degree of conformity. Despite the basic

diversity of the properties and their sources of income, from the seigneurial point-of-view the distinctions between the estates had become, and were becoming, less acute by the mid-15th. century.

In part, this growing conformity was a consequence of the break-up of the manorial system. On only a few of the Herbert estates were the demesne lands still being used to produce food for the lord and his Household, and these few were significantly the ones located near to Raglan, the main Herbert residence. Seigneurial, agricultural activity on the other estates was limited in scale and largely concerned with local and essentially pastoral requirements. Now, seigneurial withdrawal from (or disinterest in) large-scale cultivation and the related leasing of the demesne lands removed the main reason for the existence of the manor as an economic entity, and usually led to properties which had been manorial having their residual characteristics converted into rents, labour services being commuted, manorial buildings farmed and the incidents of the unfree tenantry leased. To a greater or lesser degree, most of the manorial properties held by Herbert had lost their manorial characteristics and were rapidly becoming little different from the non-manorial lordships.

This tendency for the dues which had distinguished property from property to be converted into rents was a general one, extending also to the towns and unmanorialised lordships. Thus, seigneurial rights over trade, the waste and the tenurial incidents of Welsh tenants were all the subject of leases on the Herbert estates of the mid-15th. century.

Decay also played a part by extinguishing some of the less significant sources of income, as well as in encouraging administrations

to lease items which were becoming less and less profitable to exploit directly. In short then, the policy of leasing and commuting certain of the seigneurial rights and properties, combined with the operation of decay, resulted in many mid-15th-century estates becoming almost wholly sources of rent and farm income from the seigneurial point-of-view.

Most properties however stopped short of becoming mere collections of rents: the lord's judicial power was rarely farmed out and its often significant profits remained as a complement to the income from rents and farms. Even here though, there had been some simplification in certain, important cases by the mid-15th-century. Judicial powers and profits varied in their significance from property to property: they were most important in those lordships where the lord possessed quasi-regalian rights to try serious offences and pardon offenders. By the early-15th-century the practice of short-circuiting the most important sessions by dissolving them, issuing a general pardon to the tenantry, and confirming the inhabitants' privileges in return for a lump sum was becoming common in the lordships of south Wales. These sums, along with the tallages paid by the tenantry, were frequently the only items of the charge which were comparable in importance to the income derived from rents and farms.

It would however be easy to over-emphasize the degree of the conformity which was generally the consequence of the simplification of the charges. Not all of Herbert's estates had become mere rent- and tallage-producing units by the mid-15th-century. The needs of the garrisons and administrators of the local receipts dictated that a certain

amount of agricultural activity should continue on the meadows around the castle, while, probably for similar reasons, parkland was a feature of many properties. The requirements of the baron's Household had a greater impact on the estates surrounding Raglan. The parkland of that area was probably being expanded in the mid-15th. century to supply the Household's need for grazing for its cattle and horses. Seigneurial activity moreover extended to the cultivation of the demesnes of Raglan and some of its neighbouring properties. Although this activity was largely the work of full-time paid servants - and possibly of tenants working on a share-cropping basis, some of the services of the unfree tenantry were exacted. At Raglan in particular this development represented something of a volte-face, for before its acquisition by the Herberts the property seemed well on its way to losing its manorial characteristics. By its adoption as the Herbert seat and the rise in the significance of the family under Edward IV, Raglan's history was revolutionized. Nevertheless, although some of the elements of the old manor were utilised in its renaissance, the seigneurial agriculture of the mid-15th. century was of a different sort from that being practised in the 14th: a specialist official akin to the modern farm-manager was employed and the demesne lands of the area grouped together administratively, irrespective of manorial boundaries.

The rate at which properties became more like one another was moreover by no means constant, and the Herbert estates thus included properties with relatively complex charges and high levels of

seigneurial exploitation, as well as small properties which were farmed out in their entirety.¹

Finally, it must not be forgotten that the potentialities of estates were variable, and that, despite the interpositioning of lessees between the actual sources of income and the administration, the lord's officials often regulated the exploitation of rights and properties by farmers. The coal mines of Swansea and Kilvey were, for instance, not directly exploited by the Duke of Norfolk's administration in the 1440's, but the terms of the lease make it quite clear that his officials - and notably his Improver - were to be closely involved in the supervision of the maintenance of the properties.² Administrative concern of this type and the supervisory visits of the higher officials must have had the effect of preventing officials from thinking wholly in the simplistic and levelling terms in which so many accounts were coming to be drawn. This basic diversity of potential-obscured to an extent by the accounts- would not have been lost on men who spent much of their time riding or walking over the lord's lands, and very probably caused them to make fewer overall, policy decisions and more en-the-spot judgements than we often give them credit for.

The changes which had simplified the nature of the income derived from many of the Herbert estates had had a similar impact on expenditure. The decline in seigneurial activity on the manors of south

1. To some extent, the accounts may suggest a greater diversity in this respect than in fact obtained, for the willingness to renew basic rental information and to drop unremunerative and decayed items varied greatly from administration to administration. Thus, while the accounting of the properties of the Herbert patrimony was relatively up-to-date, that of the estates inherited from Jasper Tudor in west Wales was often based upon very antiquated information which had to be heavily amended on the accounts to make it approximate to the actual situation. Even careful reading of such an account may give the impression of an estate at an earlier stage of development than a more up-to-date account would have done. Nevertheless, it is clear that substantive differences of this kind did exist between properties.
2. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Ministers' Accounts; D.L.29/651/10531.

Wales in the 14th. and 15th. centuries not only removed the main rationale for manorial organization but also simplified and reduced the level of local expenditure. By the mid-15th. century local officials were primarily collectors of rents and farms (and sometimes of the lucrative judicial items): such local expenditure as they bore was usually light and the bulk of their receipts were paid as cash to a superior, receiving official. A certain amount of local expenditure took place at the level of the local, or regional, receipt; buildings were repaired, major officials and the soldiery paid, and official costs borne. These costs could be significant, as they obviously were in west Wales during the 1460's: that area was not only burdened with the upkeep of a number of fortresses but the military situation at that time made their maintenance imperative and imposed additional burdens in the form of the wages of the garrisons.

Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that, despite local and regional needs, the 1460's were characterized by an emphasis on the transmission of cash from the localities to the Receiver-General: cash liveries were then a universal and very important item of the discharges of the Herbert estates. This centralization of expenditure was probably a consequence of the need for cash occasioned by the military situation in Wales and Herbert's duties in that respect.¹ During the 1460's then most Herbert ministers had very limited powers over the revenues they collected: what local expenditure there was tended to be concentrated at the level of the local receipt, but the bulk of the issues were taken to Raglan for dispensation by Herbert or his Receiver-General.

1. It may also represent yet another of Herbert's ways of controlling the activities of the largely untried administrators of his newly-acquired estates.

There were however some exceptional properties whose discharges were not effected in the main by the transmission of cash to the centre, and their numbers and significance may have increased after the first Earl's death. The bailiff of Wyesham-Monmouth, which was situated in a trading centre and relatively near to Raglan, rarely sent his issues to the Herbert residence, but spent them at the direction of Household officials on victuals and a variety of other goods. The proceeds of Raglan itself were similarly spent by order of Household officers and on the wages of the agricultural and domestic staff. So far as we can tell, this direct, central expenditure at local level (while relatively common) was only of significance in the immediate vicinity of Raglan in the 1460's. By the 1470's and 1480's however its importance was almost certainly greater. In addition to the expenditure arising from the seigneurial, agricultural activity and the needs of the Household (or Households after the assignment of Anne's dower in 1475), the revenues of certain receipts were also being tapped by the process of assignment. Payments to creditors and by letters of warranty do not seem to have been very numerous in the 1460's, but probably increased during the subsequent decade. The partition and diminution of the Herbert estates in the 1470's possibly lessened the importance of the Receiver-General's office, while the changed military and political situation may have simultaneously removed some of the need for a highly-centralized system of cash collection and expenditure. The second Earl possibly spent more of his time away from his estates than his father had, which would also have tended to encourage the practice of assignment. This said, it should

be emphasized that liveries were still significant in the discharges of the Earl's and dowager-Countess's accounts.

Thus, despite a strong tendency towards uniformity in the charges and discharges of the Herbert estates, the properties continued to differ from each other so far as the nature of some of the sources of the lord's income was concerned, as well as in the rate of their progress away from medieval forms of economic organization and accounting. The requirements of local receipts and the seigneurial Household were significant in further differentiating certain estates, in some cases by reversing the general tendency towards commutation and seigneurial inactivity on the demesne.

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It seems reasonable to assume that Herbert and his officers sought to maximize the income derived from his estates, but, apart from some suggestive evidence concerning the raising of the rates of commercial and Welsh dues at Crickhowell, there is little to indicate that this was the case.

The precise nature and strength of the customary laws which regulated and protected the tenures and estates of many of the inhabitants of 15th-century lordships are rarely known, but the vitality and power of local communities can be deduced from the obvious and serious bargaining which lords engaged in before securing tallages and fines. Such negotiation not only indicates one of the constraints on a lord's freedom to augment his income, but also reveals that the size and conditions of these grants had not been completely frozen by tradition

by the mid-15th. century. On the whole, it seems very likely that attempts to raise the yield of a lordship were concentrated not upon the rents and entry fines of the tenants but upon the still-negotiable fines and tallages and the leases of demesne and escheated land.

The general efficiency of an administration is a matter which is closely related to the problem of how landed income was improved. The best guide to the efficiency of the management of late-medieval estates is the arrears information on the accounts: even for a broken series of accounts this evidence usually gives a good indication of the success, or otherwise, of the administration in realizing the charge over a number of years. The arrears evidence relating to the Herbert estates makes very clear the normality of a discharge spread over at least two years, especially in the case of estates whose discharges were complicated by direct expenditure, which often slowed down the process of allowing an accountant his expenses. Once allowance has been made for this by the subtraction of the working or short-term arrears, the administration of the Herbert estates stands revealed as very efficient during the 1460's. On at least some of the estates difficulties appear to have been experienced at about the time of the first Earl's death, and debts from this period occur on the accounts of the late 1470's. The administration may moreover have become less efficient by the latter period, for the arrears evidence (although far from catastrophic) suggests a slowing of the rate of collection and allowance.

In addition to the arrears evidence, the Herbert accounts contain a number of incidental references which suggest that the administration

was at the least an alert one. These scraps of evidence are considerably less valuable as indications of efficiency than the arrears information, although they do sometimes suggest the approach of the administration to the problems of estate management. This proves to have been an essentially conservative one. So far as newly-acquired properties were concerned, Herbert's auditors were ready to accept past valuations and allowances where they were precise and documented, but otherwise they were wary of any claim that might injure the lord's rights and the yield of the estate.¹

What the incidental references to administrative efficiency on the Herbert accounts do make clear is the considerable extent to which the achievement of the 1460's was the work of the baron himself and members of his family. Even during these busy years, Herbert could find the time and interest to send notes urging his higher officials to protect him against the slackness, or dishonesty, of his local officers, and might even descend in person upon the administration of an estate. Clearly a caution verging on suspicion was united in his character with a great capacity for work. But, if he was ever suspiciously aware of the dangers of inattention, his close knowledge of his affairs taught him whom he might rely upon for support. Even as he insisted on the close scrutiny of an allowance at Wyesham in 1463, he implicitly stated

1. To some extent, the impression we receive of an essentially conservative approach to the task of estate management may be a function of the source of our information - the account - and the nature of late-medieval estate accounting. The account looks to the past rather than the future and was above all concerned with facts of a customary and established kind. While radical policies and innovations would usually be reflected in the account, they were initiated - and sometimes recorded - beyond its bounds.

his confidence in Jankyn ap Ioruerth Vaughan (who was to be present at the allowance sessions) and explicitly praised the bailiff as 'a true man to my lord'.¹ The Earl's will betrays this same combination of suspicion and trust; suspicion concerning his son's fate if his widow should chose to re-marry, and trust in the loyalty and good advice of those whom he recommended to his wife and son as servants and counsellors.² Such qualities were very probably exactly the ones required by a late-medieval landholder if he was to be successful in realizing the proceeds of his estates.

But William Herbert was not only very successful in raising the proceeds of his own estates and those that he held on a temporary basis: he was also adept at improving the cash issues of lordships. As was hinted above, significant improvement of the issues of a late-medieval, Welsh lordship probably resulted in the main from a re-valuation of leases and judicial fines. Herbert and his commissioners were clearly successful in this respect in Newport, where the town's farm was markedly raised, and in County Pembroke, where an additional tallage was exacted from the inhabitants in the early 1460's. In the Southern Principality Herbert similarly succeeded in augmenting the value of the judicial fine for the Crown, and it was possibly by dint of like activity that he managed to take such large cash sums from Goodrich

1. Badminton M.R., 1583.

2. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

in the mid-1460's. It may be guessed that Herbert made full use of his political and military power in his relations with local communities. In June 1462, for instance, the baron arrived to hold the sessions in South Wales 'with a great power and multitude of people' and stayed on after the sessions 'to set rest and peace among them [the inhabitants] for the well of all the country': it is perhaps no coincidence that the two shires agreed at this time to pay judicial fines for dissolution which were markedly higher than those of Henry VI's reign.¹ What we know of Herbert's relations with his neighbours in Gwent suggests that he had a persuasive - if unreliable - tongue as well as a strong arm, and it is probable that his force was tempered by promises of concessions. But, whatever the precise reasons for his success in these important, financial negotiations, that success was possibly of an essentially temporary kind. In 1464, for example, the communities of South Wales were able to secure a less-damaging bargain from the baron's brother, and even Herbert's personal appearances in later years did not restore the position to that of the early 1460's.²

It is no more than just that the last words of this study should refer not to William Herbert (remarkable though he was), but to his family, which did so much to make the baron's career possible and successful. This family (one is almost tempted to say 'clan') was to

1. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1224/6-7.

2. Ministers' Accounts, S.C.6 1224/8-9 & 1225/1.

a very considerable extent the reservoir of talent from which the soldiers, politicians and administrators necessary for Herbert's tasks were drawn. So far as the estates were concerned, members of the family played very significant rôles: performing key offices in areas outside Gwent; touring the baron's properties in their capacity as Stewards and, no doubt, keeping a close eye on the activities of local officials, and acting as Herbert's special commissioners in the very important business of negotiating with local communities. Some of these men lost their lives alongside their illustrious relative at Edgecote, but others lived on to protect their own interests and those of the second Earl in a less favourable political climate. Although defeated in the long run by the vagaries of nature and the law of devolution, the members of this prolific family and their descendants worked on, consolidating their power in south Wales and exercising the talents which, in the first half of the 16th. century, secured for one of their number that indispensable ingredient for great political, social and economic success - the royal favour. Less than a century after William Herbert's elevation to the earldom of Pembroke, his grand-son was given the title by Edward VI, a fitting accompaniment to the vast estates he had received in the west of England and south Wales from his earlier master and brother-in-law, Henry VIII.

Appendix I

The Provenance of the Herbert Estates

Although the evidence relating to the accumulation of the Herbert patrimony by Sir William ap Thomas is patently incomplete and often unhelpful as to the value and quantity of the properties acquired, it is of value in that it indicates the general locations of the knight's operations and the measure of his success in providing a landed base for his heirs.

Sir William's most important purchases were, without a doubt, those he made from his Berkeley step-son in the late 1420's and early 1430's. Raglan, which William probably occupied continuously from 1406 (the date of his marriage to Elizabeth Bloet), was purchased in 1432.¹ A few years earlier, Sir James Berkeley had conveyed Tretower, Ystradwy and other properties held of Blaenllyfni to his erstwhile step-father for life. These properties were later purchased outright, probably in 1432 when the Raglan purchase was completed.²

In addition to these important acquisitions, Sir William was also clearly involved in the piecemeal purchasing of land in northern Gwent. A quit-claim of 1422 refers to a purchase in Penrhos parish, which lies to the north of Raglan.³ Two years later, William was acquiring lands in the neighbouring parishes of Skenfrith and Llantilio-Crossenny.⁴ The

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2288 and 2291.

2. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 2287 and 382.

3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 36.

4. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 37.

Penrhos holdings were augmented in 1436, and properties purchased in the parishes of Llanishen and Llanwihangel-Tor-y-Mynydd during the 1440's.¹ It is clear that by means of such purchases - often small-scale in themselves - Sir William came to hold substantial properties in northern Gwent. By February 1430, for instance, his enclosed parkland in the lordship of White Castle was well established enough to be used as a reference in a deed.² The evidence for the towns of Abergavenny and Monmouth suggests that his holdings there were similarly significant by the late 1430's.³

Sir William's land purchases were not however restricted to his home area of northern Gwent and eastern Brecon. He obviously made use of his official connexion with Glamorgan to give his family a tenurial interest there too. As early as March 1440, William Herbert appears as a querent in a fine relating to 300 acres in Roath and Llanedeyrn, and, whether or not the lands were, or became, his, it is probable that the family held a stake in Glamorgan by that date.⁴ The manors of Llandough and St. Mary Church, half of West Orchard and the other Glamorgan properties of Robert le Walshe which were quit-claimed to Sir William Herbert in 1456 are reputed to have been purchased by Sir William ap Thomas.⁵ It

1. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1519, 10-12 and 1105-07.
2. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1741. By 1463-4 Lord Herbert was paying £9 a year to the king for lands in White Castle, as well as sums to the Bishop of Llandaff and the king for the manor of Llantilio and lands there. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.
3. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1520, 1742, 1806 and 585.
4. J.H. Matthews, Cardiff Records, Cardiff 1898-1911, Vol. III, p. 283.
5. G.T. Clark, Cartae et Alia Munimenta, Vol. V, 1637 and 1639n.

is also very probable that the acquisition of the Glamorgan properties of St. Nicholas and Cadoxton by Sir William's widow and heir in November 1445 represented the successful completion of yet another of the recently-deceased knight's land deals.¹ The southern acquisitions also included some properties in the Stafford lordship of Newport and Wentloog. The manors of Rogerstone and Sutton in St. Bride's in Wentloog and a town house in Newport are said to have belonged to Sir William before they passed - briefly - into the hands of Sir Henry Stradling, the husband of the knight's daughter, Elizabeth.²

Slight though this evidence is, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that Sir William provided his heirs with a solid landed base, and that this patrimony was mainly located around Raglan, with outlying groups of properties in Brecon, and southern Gwent and Glamorgan.³

William Herbert continued his father's policy of acquiring lands in the general area of Raglan during the 1450's. He purchased properties in Llantilio Pertholey in 1452, and it was possibly recently-acquired land which he granted to tenants in Llansoy and Llangonok (Llangattock?) in the early years of the decade.⁴ The manor of Wyesham near Monmouth was perhaps acquired in the early 1450's: it was certainly in the family's hands by that date and was involved in the settlement of lands which followed Herbert's marriage to Anne Devereux.⁵ Another purchase

1. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 38.

2. T.B. Pugh, The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, Cardiff, 1963, p. 293.

3. The evidence which survives probably understates the extent to which Sir William acquired lands in southern Gwent. We would perhaps do well to bear in mind that John ap Guillim of Itton was clearly a significant land-holder in the parishes of Wolvesnewton and Shirennewton by the 1450's. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 223, 974, 416 and 984.

4. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 1358, 1359 and 1521.

5. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 586. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 38.

of this period was similar in that it was obviously related to the Devereux marriage: in 1454 Herbert bought the Delahay share in the manors of Wellington and Adzor in Herefordshire (properties which were, after his death, held by the dowager-Countess Anne.)¹ It is, on the whole, probable that the 1450's were years in which Herbert's land acquisitions were often relatively small in scale and primarily intended to consolidate his position in northern Gwent.

The growth of the Herbert estates after 1460 bears no comparison to their development before that date. The dramatic rise in the status of William Herbert was accompanied by a rapid expansion and extension of his landed resources. Royal grants, rather than purchases and leases, were the means by which this development took place. By the grant of 1462 the family acquired an important complex of estates well away from its home area. However, in addition to the County of Pembroke and its appendant lordships in west Wales, the grant included some properties in, or near, Gwent, namely the lordships of Magor, Redwick and Caldicot, and Goodrich and Archenfield in Herefordshire.² The home estates were also augmented by a grant of 1465, by which parts of the royal lordship of Usk were granted to Lord Herbert for inclusion in the Marcher lordship of Raglan, which was created at the same time.³ Other grants added properties on the periphery of Herbert's home area.

1. C.P.R., (1452-61), pp. 215 and 246. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 40.

2. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 114.

3. C.P.R., (1461-67), p. 425.

The 1463 grant of confiscated Lutterell properties extended the family interests across the Bristol Channel into Somerset, while the Woodville marriage of 1466 resulted in the acquisition of estates in Gloucestershire and the reversion of a Herefordshire lordship.¹

The Crown's largesse overshadowed, but clearly did not stifle, the policy of consolidation and expansion by private purchase. The Herbert holdings in the Tretower area were thus increased in 1462 by the purchase of the Pauncefote lordship of Crickhowell.² By October 1466 Lord Herbert had also secured property at Mathenny (Llandenny) by an exchange of lands and in that year was obviously intent upon regaining the lands he had granted away in southern Gwent by purchase.³ During the accounting year 1465-66, the Herbert Receiver-General paid £36 to John Poynt, esquire, for lands which he had sold to Lord Herbert in Yazor, Herefordshire. William's purchases in the Wellington area from the Monnington family probably also date from the 1460's.⁴ By 1463-4 a farmer was paying Herbert for lands at Rhyd-y-maen¹ lately purchased from John ap Jankin Piers¹, and there is a reason for thinking that this was another acquisition of the early 1460's.⁵ In 1463-4 the rent of a Penrhos tenement was allowed because the property had been granted away in exchange for the manor of Pen-y-clawdd: the latter property had been farmed to the previous tenant on a 12-year lease, 1463-4 being the first year.⁶ The 1465 grant of three parcels of land in the parish of Llansoy

1. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 286 and 533.

2. C.Cl.R., (1461-68), p. 149.

3. N.L.W. Badminton Deed, 1445.

4. N.L.W. Badminton M.R. , 1501 and 1508.

5. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583 and 1585.

6. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1585.

made to Herbert and his heirs was probably of lesser significance, although it was probably typical of many of Herbert's purchases.¹ William's power and status in Wales undoubtedly facilitated his acquisitive policies. Following his removal from the political scene, two petitions to the Chancellor complained of the late Earl's injustice in securing properties in Gwent. 'At the desire of William, Lord Herbert, late Earl of Pembroke ... [whom] ... he durst not displease', John Sergeant had been persuaded to grant Herbert a pasture in Monmouth lordship in exchange for lands of equivalent value in Dixton, lands which, in the event, William and his heirs refused to cede.² Herbert was similarly accused of having dispossessed the widow and mother of Sir John Cressy of two manors in Magor and Redwick, and of intimidating one of the knight's feoffees into releasing his rights in the properties.³ If these statements are true accounts of the situation, it would seem that Herbert used a powerful blend of force and outward legality to augment his holdings in his home area.

On a greater scale, Herbert's political power was probably involved in what were certainly the most important of the purchases of the 1460's.

1. N.L.W. Badminton Deed , 1125.
2. P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings; C.1 225/48.
3. P.R.O. Chancery: Early Chancery Proceedings; C.1 39/19. Here again the dispossessed claimed that they 'durst not for dread of death enter or take any profit': while this may be merely the rhetoric necessary for a petition into the Chancellor's court, what we know of Herbert's character suggests that it might well be true. The release by the two feoffees appears on the Close Roll for 1462. It is noteworthy that the Earl of Huntingdon was in Constance Cressy's debt in 1486. C.Cl.R., (1461-68), p. 149. C.Cl.R., (1485-00), no.106.

The Mowbray Duke of Norfolk had very probably been persuaded by the Crown to retain Herbert as the farmer of his lordships of Swansea, Gower and Kilvey when his minority came to an end in 1465: he may have been similarly persuaded to sell his rights to these lordships and Chepstow to Herbert in 1468. Certainly, Crown lands were involved in the very complicated arrangements which resulted in the transference of the Mowbray properties to the Earl of Pembroke and his heirs.¹

As well as the outright grants and purchases, Herbert also secured quite extensive estates for temporary periods, as a Crown custodian, or the farmer of a fellow-peer or a neighbouring gentleman. Stafford and Mowbray properties were, for instance, granted to him during the minorities of the heirs of those families.² By the mid-1460's he was also farming the lordship of Llandovery from Lord Audley, as well as some Glamorgan estates of the Duchesses of Suffolk and Somerset.³ The

1. C.P.R., (1467-77), pp. 112, 132, and 163.
'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 46-7. P.R.O. Exchequer, Exchequer of Receipt: Receipt Rolls; E.401/893. The transactions of 1468 are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.
2. C.P.R., (1461-67), pp. 43 and 119.
3. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1562, 1501, 1502 and 1503.

farming of lands was clearly also an important means of adding to the family's local holdings. As officials of the major, local lordships, Herbert and his father probably leased significant quantities of land. They were very likely equally-ready to become the farmers of the local gentry. The charge of Wyesham-Monmouth was, for instance, markedly increased in the early 1460's by the addition of the rents of John and Isabelle Sergeant's lands in Garth manor, Monmouth town, Newton and Dixon: these properties were in Isabelle's hands for life and were farmed to Lord Herbert for well over £5 a year. Isabelle may have acted under a certain duress in leasing her lands, for on Herbert's death she appears to have re-entered her properties. The dowager-Countess had however regained possession by 1477, although the Sergeants clearly had no intention of compensating Anne for the lost issues.¹

1. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1583, 1588, 1508 and 1510. The Sergeant family's holdings appear to have been one of the major, local sources of Herbert acquisitions. When, in 1429, Joan, the widow of John ap Guillim of Monmouth, had her jointure restured to her, it consisted of the manors of Wonastow and Garth and five burgages in Monmouth. (The connexions between the Sergeants and the Greindores suggest that Joan was possibly Robert Greindore's sister, the wife of William Wallwyn and mother of the Greindore heir of 1471, William Wallwyn of Bickerton). By 1480 the manor of Wonastow had reverted to the Earl of Huntingdon after the deaths of Thomas Herbert, the elder and younger. It would thus seem probable that Wonastow was acquired from the Sergeants either by Sir William ap Thomas or by his son, Thomas. The Wyesham-Monmouth accounts of the 1450's also suggest that Herbert, or his father, had by then acquired a number of pieces of property lately held by John ap Guillim. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster: Miscellaneous Books; D.L. 42/18, part II, fo's. 139a and 140a. C.Cl.R., (1468-76), p. 154. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 76. N.L.W. Badminton Deeds, 346 and 798. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1593 and 1579.

In 1469 then the location and significance of the family's estates were very different from the position of a decade before. The home estates had been augmented, and very valuable complexes of estates acquired in West Wales and south-western England.¹

The bulk of these estates - Raglan; the Pembroke estates; Swansea, Gower, Kilvey, and the Dunster barony - descended to Herbert's son. Chepstow was bequeathed to the dowager-Countess Anne. The Earl had acquired properties in Herefordshire and, by the terms of his will, his son, Walter, was left all the purchased lands in that county.² Family properties in Glamorgan - Llandough, West Orchard and 'the place ... in Cibor' [Cibwr] - were also bequeathed to Walter, and the will suggests that some, or all, of them were to be sold. Another legitimate son,

1. As befitted his rôle as a courtier and national politician, Herbert had also acquired a property in London, 'the king's seler' in St. James, Garlickhithe. This was probably the property which his son directed to be sold to cover his debts and bequests in his will of 1483. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem; C. 140, File 32, no.21. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 74.
2. According to the inquisition return, the Earl had held the lordship of Strangford, which lies to the north of Ross; a manor and property late of Thomas Fitzharry in Marden near Wellington; half of the manor of Yazor, and a quarter of Wellington, which was very probably an under-statement of the situation. Walter may thus have inherited Strangford and the Marden properties on his father's death, and have had a claim to the reversion of Wellington, Adzor and Yazor, which appear to have been assigned to the dowager-Countess. On the other hand, Strangford and Marden were held by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1484. P.R.O. Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem; C.140 File 32. N.L.W. Badminton M.R., 1508 and 1510. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 72/3.

George, was to receive lands in southern Gwent and the residue of the Glamorgan lands. The three illegitimate sons mentioned in the will were settled on lands - probably acquired by purchase - in close proximity to Raglan.¹

The second Herbert Earl does not appear to have been very active in adding to the estates he inherited, and, on the contrary, saw many of them pass from the family. Most of the western Welsh estates were lost by exchange in 1479, the Earl's holdings in south-western England being simultaneously - but perhaps not proportionately - augmented.² The barony of Dunster was successfully claimed by the Lutterell family at the beginning of Henry VII's reign.³ The situation so far as the Mowbray properties are concerned is obscure. It is just possible that the Crown succeeded in returning these lordships to the Mowbray heiress before, or soon after, her union with Richard, Duke of York, in 1478. Certainly, the lordship of Gower seems to have been in the king's hands by reason of the Mowbray minority in October 1480, when offices there were granted by the Crown.⁴ On the other hand, when in 1484 the Earl of Huntingdon passed his Welsh properties to feoffees, they included

1. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 55-8.

2. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, p. 203. C.Cl.R., (1476-85), no. 1087.

3. Rotuli Parliamentorum, Vol. VI, pp. 297-8.

4. C.P.R., (1476-85), p. 222.

the lordships of Swansea, Gower and Kilvey.¹ The Duchy of Lancaster lordship of Coldicot was resumed by act of parliament in 1473, while it would seem that the farm of Haverford had been lost to the Earl by 1472. Goodrich and Archenfield had been returned to the Talbot family by 1473.² The Herbert estates may have expanded briefly during Richard III's reign, when Huntington and other properties seem to have been granted to the Earl.³ Such gains were however, like Richard's reign itself, transitory.

Following the Earl's death in 1490, the estates were, in effect, partitioned, at first by force and later with the blessing of the law. Sir Walter, the Earl's brother, occupied Raglan and refused to allow the claims of his neice, Elizabeth, and her husband, Sir Charles Somerset. An agreement was finally concluded whereby Chepstow, Raglan and other estates in that area were granted to Sir Walter and his wife, or held to their use, for their lives, the reversions belonging to Somerset and Elizabeth.⁴ The contracted, but still quite extensive, Herbert estates passed into the possession of the

1. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', pp. 72/3. Later governmental evidence corroborates the fact that the Earl of Huntingdon held the Mowbray properties, and that they formed a part of his daughter's inheritance. T.B. Pugh (ed.), Glamorgan County History, Cardiff 1971, Vol. III, p. 262. C.Cl.R. (1500-09), no. 509.
2. R. Somerville, The Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. I, London 1953, p. 242. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', Ministers' Accts; S.C.6 1122/12. p. 69.
3. 'Herbertorum Prosapia', p. 71. B.M. Harleian Ms. 433, fo's 158d, 175d and 282d.
4. C.P.R., (1494-09), p. 601. C.Cl.R., (1485-00), no. 617. C.Cl.R., (1500-09), no's 465, 496 and 509.

Somerset family in the early 16th. century, following the deaths of Sir Walter and the dowager-Countess Anne. Elizabeth's inheritance would seem to have consisted of the patrimony in south-east Wales, the Mowbray properties in south Wales, and the estates in Somerset gained by exchange in 1479.

Appendix II The level of cash production from the estates in the 1460's

The approach adopted seeks to relate the figures on the Receiver-General's accounts to the current charge of the properties concerned. But, it may be objected, the Receiver-General's figures contain payments of current issues and arrears, and therefore the comparison should be with ~~the~~ the value of the total charge of an estate. This would however have the effect of minimising the importance of the liveries to support an assumption which we know to be incorrect; that is, ~~that~~ the administration had every hope of realizing this total charge within the space of one accounting year. If, on the other hand, we assume that the arrears sums paid to the Receiver-General represent, in the main, sums not paid in or allowed during the preceding year - rather than very old arrears - and that these sums would have approximated in value to the proportion of the current charge left unpaid when the minister's account closed, we are justified in using the current charge as a standard of measurement. These assumptions seem less daring when we consider the normality of discharge over a two-year period, and the specific evidence which suggests that the Herbert estates were achieving a more or less total discharge of their annual charges over a two-year period in the 1460's.

Since current charges could become inflated by the inclusion of defective rents and rent repayments, I have deducted these from the current charge figure.

Some Herbert properties shown on the Receiver-General's accounts have not been included in the table: this is either because no ministerial accounts survive for the properties, or because those which do survive

are separated from the Receiver-General's accounts by too many years to make the comparison safe or meaningful. Where the current charge figure is starred, it is based upon information from a year after 1467: in most cases the comparative information is drawn from accounts dating from the early 1460's.

Table XIV

The level of cash production from the estates in the 1460's

<u>Account;</u>	<u>Receiver-General's Accounts</u>			<u>Current Charge</u>
	<u>1465-66</u>	<u>1466-67</u>	<u>1467-68</u>	
	£	£	£	£
TREASURER'S : PEMBROKE	479	433	482	750 ¹
RECEIVER'S : WALWYN'S CASTLE	48	49	48	61
RECEIVER'S : CILGERRAN	54	86	89	82
FARMER'S : LLANSTEPHAN	43	60	70	83
RECEIVER'S : CASTLE GOODRICH & ARCHENFIELD	179	113	54	51 ^{3*}
RECEIVER'S : HAVERFORD	130	147	154	145
RECEIVER'S : LLANDOVERY	-	28	94	150 ²
RECEIVER'S : NEWPORT & WENTLOOG	528	525	411	600
BAILIFF'S : LLANTILIO CROSSENNY	3	1	-	15

1. This charge included a draft of £115 from the lord's coffers; a subsidy worth £145, and the tallage of recognition valued at £153. Taking these facts into account, the liveries recorded by the Receiver-General probably represent a high proportion of the Treasurer's receipts.
2. The Receiver paid £40 to Lord Audley for the farm of the lordship in June 1466: it is possible that this payment represents only a part of the total value of the farm. Our current charge figure may thus be an over-estimate, possibly by as much as £40.
3. Sir Richard Croft's charge as the royal Receiver of Goodrich and Archenfield in 1481-2 was composed wholly of deliveries of cash made to him by local officials; he had no independent charges. Ministers' Accounts; S.C.6 1122/12.

Table XIV contd.

<u>Account:</u>	<u>Receiver-General's Accounts</u>			<u>Current Charge</u>
	<u>1465-66</u>	<u>1466-67</u>	<u>1467-68</u>	
	£	£	£	£
RENT COLLECTOR'S : PENRHOS	12	14	14	8
RENT COLLECTOR'S : MAINDIFFI	20	23	19	23*
BAILIFF'S : DINGESTOW	15	-	-	16
BAILIFF'S : BETTWS	7	15	18	5 (15*)
BAILIFF'S : BRYNGWYN	2	3	2	5
BAILIFF'S : TAL-Y-FAN	16	-	-	20
RENT COLLECTOR'S : CAERLEON	4	3	2	5
BAILIFF'S : PEN-Y-CLAWDDE	6	-	-	5
BAILIFF'S : ABERYSTRUTH	-	-	4	2
BAILIFF'S : GOYTRE & LLANOVER	2	5	7	3
BAILIFF'S : LLANDDEWI RHYDDERCH	2	4	5	5
RENT COLLECTOR'S : USK PARISH	-	-	3	3
BAILIFF'S : LAGHORNE	7	29	29	45*

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